

**THE STRENGTH OF MINANGKABAU IDENTITY  
AMONG THE FIRST YEAR MINANGKABAU  
SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL GIRLS:**

**A STUDY AT SMU2 PADANG, SMU 11 PADANG  
AND SMU SUNGAI TARAB, TANAH DATAR,  
SUMATRA BARAT, INDONESIA**

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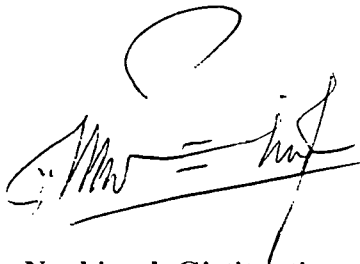
**Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of  
Doctorate in Education**

**Faculty of Education  
University of Tasmania at Launceston**

**1999**

## **DECLARATION**

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## ABSTRACT

The study reported in this thesis is an investigation of the strength of Minangkabau identity among first-year senior high school girls of Minangkabau ethnicity in West Sumatra. The purpose of this study is to determine the level of commitment among the sample to an ethnic heritage; to identify areas of strength and weakness in self-identification as Minangkabau; and to explore some background reasons for variance in commitment to Minangkabau identity in different school communities. The school communities include one (*Darek*) located in Minangkabau heartland and two (*Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2*) in *rantau* areas of West Sumatra. *Rantau* names areas where Minangkabau people live that are outside the core clan territories of the Minangkabau, which are *darek*. The two *rantau* schools were selected to represent two different socio-economic communities so that socio-economic factors could be examined in relation to variance.

The study is a quantitative one using survey research. The questionnaire instrument was substantially developed for the project and extensively reviewed and pre-tested. Data were entered into SPSS Version 9 and analyzed by parametric and non-parametric procedures. The questionnaire draws on Minangkabau adat (custom and customary law) aesthetic tradition and gendered ideals for its construct of Minangkabau identity. It also includes alternative identities to form a basis of comparison, namely identity as Indonesian and global, youth identity.

The study found that some aspects of Minangkabau identity are weaker than others among all respondents, while some are relatively weaker only among the *Rantau 1* respondents. Overall, the *Rantau 1* girls showed less

attachment to Minangkabau identity than the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls; and stronger orientation to a globalized youth identity. This study also found that socio-economic background – parental education and occupation – has a significant effect on attachment to Minangkabau identity.

The study concluded with recommendations for the future development of curriculum policy in West Sumatra in the area of Budaya Alam Minangkabau, the "local content" of the national curriculum for the preservation of indigenous cultures in Indonesia.

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# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Aims and significance of the study**

This study is designed to investigate the strength of Minangkabau identity among first year senior high school girls in West Sumatra. The study is concerned to investigate whether ethnic identity, expressed in commitment to specific cultural practices, continues to be used as a primary means of self-identification among a well defined ethnic group in contemporary Indonesia, the Minangkabau. These people have been selected as the focus of the study because of the distinctiveness of their matrilineal system and their cultural ideals for women. The salience of gender in Minangkabau cultural institutions makes it easier to measure persistence of self-identification in ethnic terms amongst the Minangkabau than might be the case with other ethnic cultures. For the same reason of gender salience, girls were chosen as the subject of the study.

Why does the persistence of ethnic identity matter? Research into social and civic participation and into the psychological determinants of well being show the issue of self-identification with a group to be a core indicator of participation and sociability. Some of this research is covered in the thesis literature review. However important those dimensions of identity, the concern of this thesis is not with justifying group identity on normative grounds but with the pragmatic business of providing a

research base to support policy development in cultural programs in West Sumatran schools. It sets out to determine the level of commitment to an ethnic heritage amongst its sample; to identify areas of strength and weakness in self-identification as Minangkabau and to explore some background reasons for variance in commitment to Minangkabau identity in different school communities. The policy for which it has relevance is *Budaya Alam* Minangkabau (Minangkabau culture as a subject of study). This concept requires explanation.

Preserving Minangkabau culture is regarded as important by the Indonesian government as well as by the people of West Sumatra. For the government of Indonesia, the importance of preserving ethnic culture is because it is regarded as a part of the richness of the Indonesian nation. For the West Sumatra people, preserving their culture is not only for the survival of their group existence, but also for its historical and cultural value (Peraturan Pemerintah Daerah Sumatra Barat, No 13, 1983; DoEC, 1995).

The government of Indonesia in general, and the people of West Sumatra in particular, have recognized that some aspects of ethnic culture are threatened with disappearance. Therefore, since 1994, *Budaya Alam* Minangkabau has been a part of the West Sumatran school curriculum, as a local area content, for primary and junior secondary students. The purposes of this subject are (1) to develop students' knowledge of Minangkabau culture as a part of Indonesian culture; (2) to develop students' feelings of love and respect towards Minangkabau culture; (3) to encourage students to practice the values content of Minangkabau traditional culture; and (4) to encourage students to preserve and develop Minangkabau culture (DoEC, 1995).

Many studies concerning the Minangkabau have addressed distinctive Minangkabau cultural institutions such as matriarchy (Pridivile, 1981; Schwede, 1991; Tanner, 1974; Thomas, 1977), Islam (Abdullah, 1967; 1971; 1985; Dobbin, 1972; Junus, 1993), and *Merantau* (going out of the village) (Kato, 1977; 1982; Murad, 1980; Naim, 1973; 1985; Pelly, 1983). All of these distinctive Minangkabau traditions obviously impact on girls' ideas of their future roles in the family, society and in the economic world. But, in Minangkabau society itself, there is no systematic research on the strength of self-identification of girls as Minangkabau, even though the transmission of Minangkabau culture rests upon the female in Minangkabau *adat* (custom and customary law).

## **2.2 Research problem**

This study is designed to investigate the strength of Minangkabau identity among first grade senior high school girls in different schools in West Sumatra and possible factors associated with variation in the strength with which respondents identify as Minangkabau.

By strength of Minangkabau identity, I mean how attached these girls are to distinctive Minangkabau values, tradition practices and community. By Minangkabau *identity* I mean girls' beliefs, values and practices that are claimed by the Minangkabau community to comprise the traditional or current expression of Minangkabau culture. By Minangkabau culture I mean the ensemble of *adat* and aesthetic practices and attitudes associated with the Minangkabau people. The constituent variables are itemized in Figure 1.1 and discussed at length in Chapter two.

In looking at reason for variations, I have been concerned to investigate three possible factors. First is the influence of *darek* and *rantau* school communities on girls' self-identification as Minangkabau. In this study I have used the Minangkabau

words, *darek* and *rantau* to classify the population under study. This follows the usual classification used by Minang people who dichotomously classify place into *darek* and *rantau*. The concept of *rantau* has no direct English equivalent. Literally, it expresses movement away from the heartland. However, it also includes an implicit typology of such people who move from the heartland. It evokes an idea of people who are regarded as more modern, educated, professional; who are affluent; and who are connected by costly facilities such as cars, media, electronics to information from the outside world. *Darek* (people who live in the heartland) on the other hand, are regarded as more traditional, quiet, and more likely to belong to a homogenous society, with a lack of facilities for engagement with the outside world. The people who live in *darek* areas are usually less well educated and most of them work as farmers or in other manual occupations.

Three schools have been chosen for this study. Two of the schools chosen were in Padang, the provincial capital of West Sumatra. The provincial capital of West Sumatra is regarded as a *rantau* area by Minangkabau people. Thus, the girls from these two schools are regarded as constituting *rantau*. The other school chosen was at Sungai Tarab village, in a district called Kabupaten Tanah Datar. Kabupaten Tanah Datar is one of three heartland districts (*Tigo Luhak*) of Minangkabau. Therefore, the girls from this school are regarded as a *darek* population.

The second factor is the possible influence of socio-economic factors on girls' self-identification as Minangkabau. Many authors suggest the impact of the family, including socio-economic background, on individual identity formation (Elder, 1968; Mischel & Mischel, 1976; Konh, 1977; Schneewind, 1996). The socio-economic status is measured in this thesis by the level of parental education and by parental occupation of the girls in the three schools.

The third factor concerns a factor of a different sort associated with variance: whether the strength or weakness of girls' attachment to Minangkabau identity indicates a choice for or against *group* or *ascribed* identity. As will be explained in Chapter two, ethnic identity represents a type of group identity, which is only partly a matter of individual choice. The contrast is with an identity that an individual actively elects as part of the construction of a preferred self-image. The significance of the difference between these two types of identity concerns the issue of the survival of group or ethnic identity itself. An eclectically constructed identity is connected with the threat presented by a pluralistic, globalized culture to the unitary completeness of identity within a specific ethnic tradition. To investigate whether this globalizing factor was present in the responses, I looked at the girls' responses to this kind of elected identity, called in this thesis globalized identity, for want of a better term; and also at their response to another kind of group identity, namely, national identity as Indonesian.

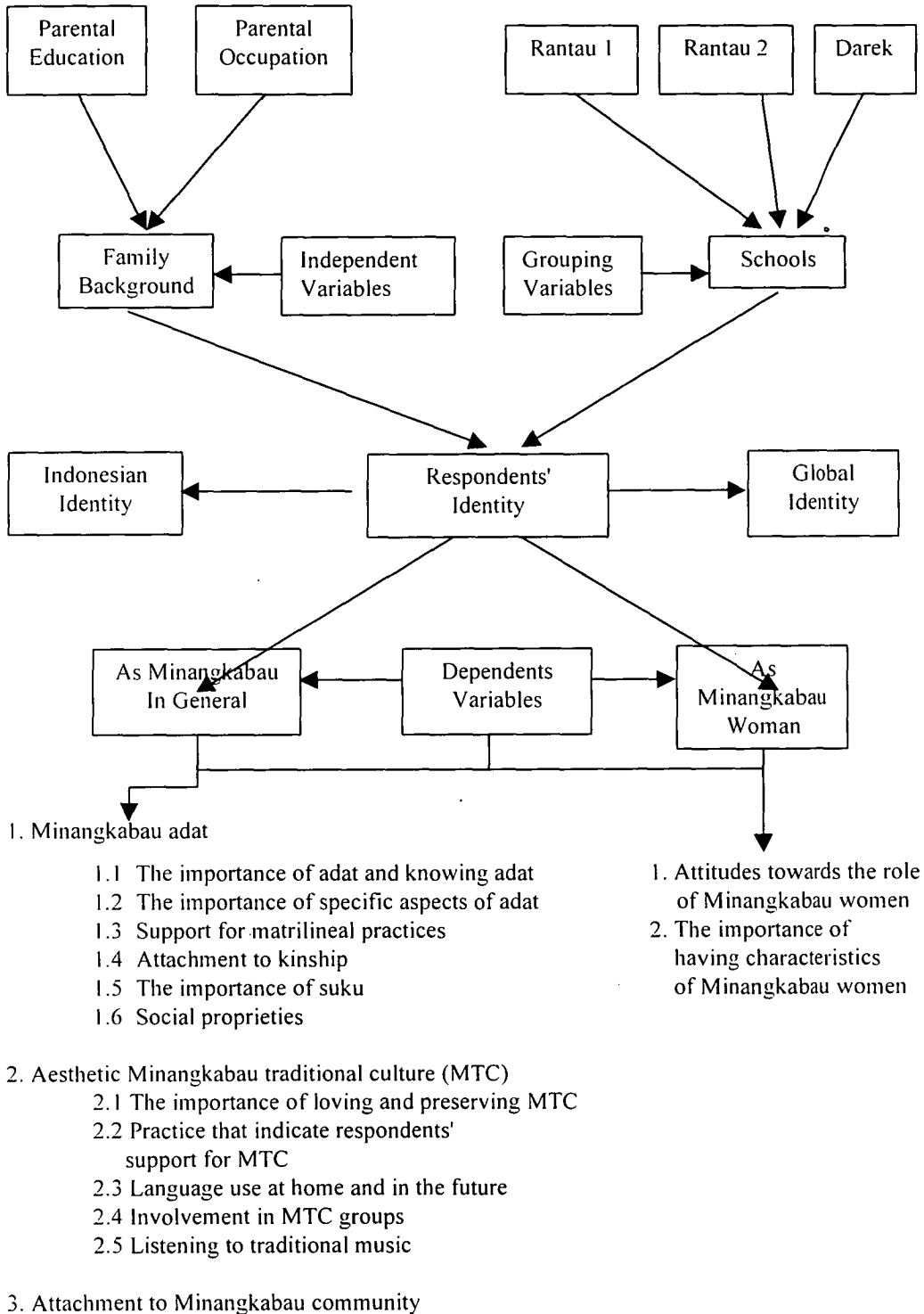
### **1.3 Research questions**

The research questions which encapsulate the specific inquiries of the thesis are as follows:

1. How strongly do these girls retain a Minangkabau identity?
2. How strongly does the Minangkabau ideal of womanhood still influence these girls?
3. What factors are associated with the girls' attachment to Minangkabau identity?

The conceptual framework of the study can be seen in Figure 1.1 in the next page.

Figure 1.1: The Conceptual Framework of the Study



## 1.4 Outline of the Thesis

The thesis is comprised of seven chapters, together with a set of attachments consisting of three appendices and a list of references. Chapter one presents the aims and the significance of the study, the research problems - including the research setting, the definition of terms, the research questions and the framework of the study. Chapter Two is the literature review. Particular attention is paid to the core concepts of the study, namely, the concept of identity itself, then the relationship between ethnicity and identity, and then the literature on characteristics of Minangkabau identity, Indonesian identity and globalized identity. Chapter Three describes the research method, the choice of research methodology, the instrument, population and sample, data gathering and data analysis. Chapter Four presents the respondents' background. In this chapter, the age distribution of the respondents and their socio-economic background are presented. Chapter Five is the presentation of the findings on Research Question 1: *How strongly do the girls retain Minangkabau identity?* and on the Research Question 2: *How strongly does the Minangkabau ideal of womanhood still influence the girls?* It includes the findings on the strength and weakness of girls' attachment to Minangkabau adat, the strength and weakness of girls' attachment to aesthetic Minangkabau traditional culture, and the strength and weakness of girls' attachment to Minangkabau community. Chapter Six is the presentation of the findings on Research Question 3: *What factors are associated with variance in the girls' attachment to Minangkabau identity?* It includes the findings of the girls' attachment to Indonesian identity and to globalized identity, and the influence of socio-economic background in the girls' attachment to Minangkabau identity. Chapter Seven is the presentation of the discussion of the research findings. It includes the conclusions, limitations, the implication of the findings and recommendations for further research.



## **CHAPTER TWO**

# **LITERATURE RIVIEW: CONCEPTS OF IDENTITY AND MULTIPLE IDENTITY OF MINANGKABAU GIRLS**

This chapter presents a review of the literature relevant to the topic of girls' identity in West Sumatra. The first section reviews the literature on the concept of identity, and the second on ethnic identity. The third section looks at the specific Minangkabau identity in question. As part of the estimation of the strength of girls' attachment to Minangkabau culture, attachments to other identities are also investigated. These are a construct of Indonesian identity and attachment to what is referred to in this thesis as a globalized identity.

### **2.1 Concept of Identity**

Before looking at Minangkabau identity, it is necessary first to conceptualize what is meant by identity and ethnic identity.

Theorists acknowledge that identity is a term which has been given so many meanings that it is difficult to define (Stone, 1981). These difficulties have arisen

because identity has been conceptualized in various ways by philosophers, psychologists, anthropologists and other social scientists depending upon their concern (Robbins, 1973). The definition of identity in the literature ranges from identity as the sameness of a thing over time, to various formulations of identity as a social construct. Without redefining the term, it might be agreed that the components of identity include at least the following dimensions: the biological, the sociological, the cultural, and the personal or existential.

In the social sciences, the concept of identity was first elaborated by Erik Erikson (1950, 1959). He defined identity as a subjective, enabling sense of sameness and continuity, which is related to both an individual's inner experience and to his or her cultural and historical setting (Erikson, 1968). Erikson's concept of identity has two facets. It refers to feelings about one's self, and to the relationship between self-concept and descriptions of the self by significant others (Schell & Hall, 1983).

Erikson thus draws attention to the personal and the social dimensions of identity. Before looking further at Erikson, it will be useful to look at the demarcation of personal and social identity in the development of conceptualization of identity. Some theorists have attempted to differentiate between personal and social identity (cf: Turner, 1984, 1987; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Brewer, 1991). However, according to Deaux (1992), the distinction between these two facets of identity is not always consistent. Some theorists propose some form of continuum (cf: Tajfel, 1978; Turner, 1987; Brewer, 1991), in which personal identity anchors one end of the dimension and social identity anchors the other, as exemplified by Tajfel's (1978) inter-individual-inter-group continuum of social behavior. Tajfel (1972, p. 31) defines social identity as 'the individual's knowledge that he/she belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him/her of the group membership'. Thus for Tajfel, social identity is self-conception as a group

member. Personal identity, on the other hand, is the sense of individuating characteristics - one's sense of individuality and uniqueness (knowledge about oneself as different from other individuals). as a *result* of inter-individual relationship (Tajfel, 1972). In line with Tajfel, Brewer (1991) states that personal identity is the individuated self- those characteristics that differentiate one individual from others within a given social context. For Brewer, social identities, on the other hand, are categorizations of the self into more inclusive social units that depersonalize the self-concept (Brewer, 1991).

According to Turner (1987), the distinction between personal and social identity is temporal. Whether identity is perceived in personal or social terms depends upon which level of identity is salient in any given situation. When personal identifications are salient, one is aware of features distinguishing oneself from other individuals (e.g. "I am cheerful", "I like dark colors", etc). When social identifications are salient one is aware of features distinguishing one's relevant social category from others (e.g. "I am Indonesian", "I am a teacher", "I am a woman", and so on) (Turner, 1987).

The definition proposed by Erikson (1968) indicates that identity formation even in its personal form, cannot be separated from social context. Fitzgerald (1974) maintains that it is almost impossible to discuss identity apart from its total institutional and cultural contexts. In fact, social psychologists agree that identity is a product of the interaction among individuals in a given social context (cf.: Berger & Luckmann, 1971, Tajfel, 1984; Breakwell, 1986; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Abrams, 1992; Deaux, 1992; Kitzinger, 1992; Liebkind, 1992). It can be concluded that almost all writers using the term imply that identity establishes what and where the person is in social terms (Stone & Farberman, 1981).

In the sociological literature, the link between society and identity is most directly addressed in the symbolic-interactionist tradition, traced primarily to the work of Charles Cooley (1902), Herbert Mead (1934) and Ward Goodenough (1963). They proposed that identity is a product of interactions between individuals and their physical, social, and cultural environment (Kitzinger, 1992; Liebkind, 1992). Cooley used the term 'looking-glass self' to emphasize that a person's understanding of self is a reflection of how other people react to him/her. The self-concept is the image cast by a social mirror. In other words, individuals acquire information about the 'social self' based on the ways people respond to them.

However, in recent times, the tradition of symbolic-interactionism has split into two major (and several minor) variants in conceptualizing identity (Liebkind, 1992). The differences between these variant theories are due to their different fundamental conceptualizations and assumptions regarding society and identity (Breakwell, 1986; Liebkind, 1992).

There are two main schools of thought on identity among symbolic-interactionists namely: processual interactionists (Blumer, 1969) and structural interactionists (Stryker, 1979). The key feature of the former, according to Leibkind (1992, p. 157) is their emphasis on the social situation as the context in which identities are established and maintained through the process of negotiation or 'bargaining', in itself a central aspect of 'defining the situation' or 'constructing reality'. This view sees identity as situated, emergent, reciprocal and negotiated (Blumer cited in Breakwell, 1992). The social environment in which an individual interacts is always changing along with individual development; thus, according to this view, identity is not a fixed characteristic of the individual but a status changing in each spatial, temporal and social context.

The structural interactionists, on the other hand, emphasize the concept of role; identities are viewed mainly as internalized roles (Stryker, 1979; Stryker, 1980; Gecas, 1982; Stryker and Serpe, 1982; Stryker, 1987; Thoits, 1991). Stryker (1979) argues that identities are internalized roles and a role is a package of actions and thoughts expected of the occupant of a particular social position. In this formulation: self-conception is seen as a product of the way in which these role-identities are hierarchically organized. Thoits (1991, p. 2) also defines role-identities as 'self-conceptions based on position in the social structure which are enacted in on-going reciprocal role relationships'. Within this definition, she includes such role categories as parent, spouse, friend and so on.

Since there are a number of distinct sets of structured relationships in which people are involved, it is clear that a person may have multiple identities. Thus, for the structural interactionist a person may hold the identity of student, citizen, member of particular ethnic group, friend, and so on; all of which collectively make one's self. As Sarbin and Scheibe (1983, p. 12) state, 'a person's identity is composed of a number of different roles located at different points in the status dimension'. Finally, they say that 'role enactments vary in the degree to which the actor is involved in the role'. Stryker and Serpe (1982) and Stryker (1987) use the term "identities salience" for the degree of a person's involvement in the role, defining "identities salience" as individual's level of commitment to the underlying roles.

Some structural interactionists differentiate personal from social identities. They would agree that personal identity 'usually denotes specific attributes of the individual' and is essentially tied to and emergent from close and enduring personal relationships (Hogg & Abram, 1988: 25). They give some examples of personal identities, such as Son of X, Friend of Y, and lover of Bach. On the other hand, they define social identities by their structural base as 'self-descriptions deriving from

membership in social categories'. They offer such examples of social identities as 'English', 'teacher' and 'black' (Hogg & Abram, 1988, p. 25).

Another variant within the symbolic-interactionist is the group of social constructionists. Their perspectives are quite compatible with Mead. They also point to the difficulty of maintaining sharp distinctions between the personal and social identity (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). According to this perspective, personal meanings are constructed in and dependent on the social context. Thus one's personal identity cannot be separated from the context in which it develops (Deaux, 1992). But some of them differ from Mead in allowing some distinction between personal and social identity. Thus for Breakwell (1986) the distinction is more temporal than content-based. 'Personal identity could be considered the relatively permanent residue of each assimilation to and accommodation of a social identity' (Breakwell, 1986, p. 17).

Thus some social constructionists treat personal and social identity neither as totally distinct aspects of self and nor as completely indistinguishable (Deaux, 1992). Like the structural interactionists, they rather look at identity as a multiplicity of senses of self (cf: Stryker & Sherpe, 1982; Thoits, 1983; Rosenberg & Gara, 1985; Rosenberg, 1988; Linville, 1987; Stryker, 1987; Ethier & Deaux, 1990; Deaux, 1991; Thoits, 1991). It is in this that they are most similar to both William James and George Herbert Mead at the beginning of the twentieth-century. To quote Mead (1934: 142): 'We divide ourselves up in all sorts of different selves with reference to our acquaintances, and multiple personality is in a certain sense normal'. James (1890) similarly argued for multiplicity in discussing the material, social and spiritual selves (cited in Deaux, 1992, p. 18).

From these conceptions of identity discussed above, several inferences can be drawn as a conceptual framing for this study. Firstly, identity is rooted in self-perception. This self-perception has two components: personal and social, both dependent on social interaction, inter-individual and inter-group, as was suggested by Tajfel (1978, 1981 and 1982). Personal identity is a sense of individuality and uniqueness distinguishing one-self from others. Social identity derives from membership in various groups. It includes an individual sense of belonging and emotional attachment to a specific social group. These accounts of identity are compatible with the view of the structural interactionists, who would add to the conceptualization, the mediation of identity by status attaching to social roles.

Common to all the theoretical positions on identity that we have considered, is the idea of multiplicity. Thus, an individual may perceive him/her self in many different identities due to his/her involvement in and attachment to various social structures or groups. In addition, as was suggested by Blumer (1969) identity is situated, emergent, reciprocal and negotiated. As a number of contemporary investigators have suggested, multiplicity is not only conceptually reasonable but also psychologically desirable (Deaux, 1992). Thoits (1983) proposes that multiple roles diffuse the stress experienced in any single role. Linville (1987) also suggests that greater self-complexity, as assessed by sortings of potentially self-relevant attributes, acts as a buffer against stress.

I will adopt this composite understanding of identity in this study. This study also treats identity as a non-fixed characteristic of the individual but a status that changes in each spatial, temporal and social context.

Since this study is about girls' identities in a specific cultural context, namely Minangkabau culture, it is also necessary in the following section to review the

conception of ethnicity, of Minangkabau identity in general and of the identity construct of “the Minangkabau woman” in particular. When I have discussed the aspects of ethnic identity, I will conclude with looking at the non-ethnic identities of interest in this study. These are firstly identity as Indonesian, and then the disembedded identity of global youth culture. These identities feature in this study is a minor way, not as possible alternative identities but for what light they throw on the pattern of response to the major, Minangkabau identity.

## **2.2 Concept of Ethnic Identity**

The term ‘ethnicity’ has its roots primarily in anthropology and ethnology (Liebkind, 1992). Both anthropologists and sociologists usually define an ethnic group on the basis of linguistic, cultural or religious criteria (Liebkind, 1992). Although some theorists try to distinguish the use of cultural and ethnic identity, often these terms are used interchangeably.

An ethnic group is commonly defined as a named cultural group whose members have a myth of common origins, shared memories and cultural characteristics, a link with a homeland and a measure of solidarity (Schermerhorn, 1970; Horowitz, 1985; and Smith, 1995). Babad, Birnbaun, and Benne, (1983:146) define ethnic groups as ‘groups of individuals who share distinctive cultural characteristics separating them from others among whom they live’. De Vos (1975) also describes an ethnic group as a self-perceived grouping of people who hold in common a set of traditions not shared by the others with whom they are in contact. Such traditions typically include religious beliefs and practices, values, language, a sense of historical continuity, and common ancestry or place of origin.



From these definitions, Smith (1995: 133) concludes that there are several features of an ethnic group:

1. a collective name, which symbolizes the uniqueness of the community and demarcates it from others;
2. a myth of common origins, which relates all the members to a common ancestor, birthplace, and foundation;
3. share ethno-history, that is, the share memories of successive generations of a cultural community;
4. one or more common cultural characteristics which can serve to demarcate members from non-members, such as colour, language, customs, religion, values, and institutions;
5. an association with a historic territory, or homeland, even when most of the community no longer resides in it;
6. a sense of solidarity on the part of at least a significant segment of the cultural community.

Bostock (1981) has added to the concept of ethnicity. He defines ethnicity as a feeling of closeness felt between people who share a common culture, that is, a common language, way of life, past, and possibly also common racial origin, religion and homeland. Thus attachment to a culture and homeland, according to Bostock (1981), is the central object or focus of ethnicity. A characteristic of the feeling of ethnicity is the recognition of other people as 'of us' or 'of them' (Bostock, 1981:1).

An ethnic group can be differentiated from others by looking at its particular ancestry or place of origin, its common set of traditions, language, physical traits, dress, customs, values and belief systems. However, ethnicity has a subjective component in addition to these more exterior -focussing aspects. De Vos (1975) says that a person's ethnicity cannot be defined by objective or behavioral criteria alone; ethnicity comprises a subjective element. Lange and Westin (1985) agree that ethnic identification is a subjective process. Therefore, ethnic identity has also to be

measured by the subjective factor of how a person feels about him/herself as a part of an ethnic group (Lange and Westin, 1985).

An individual's feeling of belonging to a certain social group/ethnic, according to Abrams (1992) may be expressed by a sense of involvement, concern and pride. Ideas and beliefs, in other words the 'culture', of an ancestry, play a crucial part in one's ethnic identity. Ethnicity is also intimately related to the individual need for collective *continuity*, includes a sense or feeling of continuity with a collective ancestry. In contrast to present or future-oriented sources of social identity, ethnicity is oriented to a heritage.

Within sociological literature, there are two categories of approach to ethnic identity, namely, primordialism on the one hand and situationism or mobilizationism on the other (Smith, 1984; McCall et.al, 1985; Liebkind, 1992). Primordialists view ethnicity as a primal, irrational, deep-seated allegiance or attachment to kin, territory or religion (Zubrzycki, 1977; McKay, 1982). Geertz (1973: 259-260) has defined a 'primordial attachment' as:

"one that stems from the 'givens' -- or more precisely, as culture is inevitably invoked in such matters, the assumed 'givens' -- of social existence: immediate contiguity...that stems from being born into a particular religious community speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language and following particular social patterns. These contiguities of blood, speech, custom and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering coerciveness in and of themselves. One is bound to one's kinsmen, one's neighbor, one's fellow believer, ipso facto, as a result not merely of one's personal affection, practical necessity, common interest or inferred obligation, but at least in great part, by the virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself..... such attachments seem to flow more from a sense of natural - some would say spiritual - affinity than from social interaction".

According to Smith (1984), primordialists emphasize the durability of ethnic communities and ties in studying ethnicity. The concern of primordialists is to explain the maintenance of ethnic ties and strengthening of ethnic group boundaries, a phenomenon known as 'the ethnic revival', which has been identified in modern societies (Julian, 1989). They recognize that this situation does not fit comfortably with modernization theories which state that ethnicity is an ascribed basis for group formation and identification should decline as societies modernize and increasing emphasis is placed on achievement (Vallee, 1975).

The primordialists stress the functionality of ethnic identity for group maintenance. Firstly, the feeling of closeness among members of ethnic group is intimately related to the individual need for collective continuity. Secondly, growing up together in a social unit, sharing a common culture, common behaviors and conduct and common verbal and gestural language, people develop mutually understood accommodations, which radically diminish situations of possible confrontation and conflict (De Vos, 1975). Thirdly, within a group definition of belonging, people can develop complex formal systems of individual and group social stratification. Finally, ethnic identification is viewed positively as a reaction against the process of homogenization in a rational society (McCall et al, 1985).

Situationists reject the primordialist account of ethnicity. They view ethnicity more or less as 'false consciousness', 'ideology' or the like, and an identity as sense of self which obfuscates class inequality and is rationally manipulated or consciously adopted as a strategy for pursuing the political and economic goals of an ethnic group (McKay, 1982). Unlike primordialists who emphasize the durability of ethnic communities and ties, situationists emphasize the instrumental, pragmatic and changeable aspects of ethnicity. They recognize that ethnicity is not always salient.

Ethnic affiliations fluctuate considerably and change their meanings across a variety of situations.

Although the debate between primordialism and situationalism still continues, the distinction between the two approaches is not clear-cut (Julian, 1989). In general terms, there is agreement on the characteristics of ethnic phenomena while disagreement occurs at the level of explanation (Julian, 1989). Moreover Julian (1989) states that such disagreement results from divergent and often implicit value orientations which lead various researchers to select for investigation certain aspects of the phenomena over and above others. In addition, Lange and Westin (1985) hold that polarization of these two positions is unnecessary. Both are inherently complementary aspects of human life (Lange & Westin, 1985).

Like primordialism and situationism, another important interpretative dichotomy in the approach to ethnic identity is the opposition between the account of it as ascribed and as achieved (Hewitt, 1979; Liebkind, 1992). According to Hewitt (1979), ascribed membership of a group means that a person is assigned to a group by others on the basis of biological considerations (such as age, sex or gender) or birth into a particular family (identified, for example by ethnicity, religion and skin-colour). Sex, according to Hewitt (1979) is a clear example of ascribed membership. In contrast, achieved membership means that to be a member of particular group does not depend on birth, but is voluntary. The outstanding example of achieved membership is the occupational role (Hewitt, 1979).

However, according to Hewitt (1979) the two types of assignment to membership groups are not absolutely distinct categories. They are the end points on a continuum. Both types are a matter of more or less, rather than all or none. For example, religion is assigned at birth, but under some conditions the person may

change religious identification; occupational roles are achieved, but in certain contexts strong pressure is exerted on individuals to become what their parents desire. In keeping with this idea, Liebkind (1992) views ethnic identity as more likely to be ascribed as well as achieved. Ethnicity is ascribed in the sense that one cannot choose the ethnic group into which one is born, but it is achieved to the extent that the meaning it acquires for one's total identity is a matter of the individual's choice. The ascribed aspect of ethnicity can be played down to the extent that ethnic identity is made equal to other social identities: 'The individual has the option, on the one hand, of emphasizing or obfuscating his/her ethnic identity, or on the other hand, of assuming other social identities that he/she holds' (Okamura, 1981:460). Situating the debate between ascription and achievement theorists within the larger interpretative frameworks of primordialism and situationism, it is clear that ascriptionists would participate in the primordialist view of ethnic identity as given, while situationist theory is more compatible with a view of ethnicity as achieved.

Based on the conceptions of ethnicity above, it can be concluded that there are at least four components of ethnicity. First, the concept of ethnicity can be used of a group of people who have common ancestry or place of origin. Second, ethnicity entails a subjective dimension, expressed in a feeling of attachment or belonging amongst those people. Third, a shared culture is an object or focus of that feeling. Sharing a culture entails sharing the social behaviors, symbols, language, values or beliefs of an ethnic group deriving from their ancestral culture. Finally, ethnicity is a subjective process, which applies to both ascriptive and achievement accounts of it. Choosing a position in the later debate, it can be said that ethnicity is ascribed in the sense that one cannot choose the ethnic group into which one is born, but it is achieved to the extent that the meaning it acquires for one's total identity is a matter of individuals' choice (Liebkind, 1992).

### **2.2.1 Culture and ethnic identity**

As a shared culture is the focus of ethnic identity, we need to look more closely at identity in relation to culture. First, we need to look at the meaning of culture.

The definition of culture introduced by Edward B. Tylor ([1871] 1924:1) assimilates culture to the whole array of social interactions, includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits that together structure identity. This definition shows the extent to which when we are talking about ethnic identity we are also talking about cultural identity.

Tylor's conception left a number of features of culture unelaborated (White & Dillingham, 1973). Greater detailing of the systemic nature of culture has subsequently developed. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952: 181) conducted a study on the diversity of definitions of culture. Their conclusions about the meaning of culture based on this study are as follows:

‘Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the other hand, be considered as conditioning elements of further action’.

Rohner (1984:119) proposed a definition of culture as “the totality of equivalent and complementary learned meanings maintained by a human population, or by identifiable segments of population, and transmitted from one generation to the next”. Triandis, Vassiliou, Vassiliou, Tanaka, and Shanmugam (1972) divided culture into physical and subjective culture. According to Triandis, et.al. (1980),

physical culture refers to objects such as roads, buildings and tools; while subjective culture include elements such as social norms, roles, beliefs and values.

Contemporary theorists generally agree on certain features of culture (Goldman, 1993; Pedersen, 1988; Rohnney, 1984), as may be summarized in Rohnney's formulation. Culture is a learned phenomenon; is highly variable from one population to another; has concepts that stem from a recognition of a fundamental orderliness and regularity of human life under most circumstances; refers to the way of life of people, their traditions, heritage, designs for living or life scripts; and is shared (Rohnney, 1984).

However, some theorists disagree with a very broad definition of culture because such a definition does not have enough specificity to account for particular ethnic and racial groups (Hays, 1996). In fact, all contemporary societies are multicultural, that is, they contain two or more social groups which can be distinguished in term of culture, where culture includes the entire array of practices which differentiate between and characterize any group (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). In order to cover many variables such as age, race, gender, ethnicity, Hays (1996:333) defines culture as 'all of the learned behaviours, symbols, beliefs, norms and values that are held by a *group* of people and passed on from one generation to the next, at least in part to preserve the group'. Thus, cultural differences among groups of people also have an historical dimension.

This study uses Hays' definition of culture. It also sees culture as having two aspects: a physical and subjective aspect, as is proposed by Triandis et.al. (1980). In relation to ethnic identity, Shweder (1990) has said, there is a tight bond between culture, identity and group continuity. Culture is a source of the construction of a collective ethnic identity (Shweder, 1990). Elements of culture, its signs and

symbols, may be transformed or filled with new meaning and take on a new significance in contact with other ethnic or cultural groups (Wilpert. 1989).

### **2.2.2 Language and ethnic identity**

It has been claimed that ethnic identity is intrinsically connected with language. It is often said and it is undoubtedly true that language constitutes the single most characteristic feature of a separate ethnic identity (Giles and Johnson, 1981; Weinreich, 1989; Liebkind, 1992). There are five conditions, according to Lange and Westin (1985), promoting this connection: (1) existentially, language is very significant to the individual as an instrument for naming the self and the world; (2) essentially, primary socialization is a matter of linguistic interaction; (3) social representations, as the cognitive connective tissue of a culture are expressed in language; (4) language is the medium of the ethnic group's (more or less) mythological conception of its common origin; and (5) of all ethnic markers, spoken language is one of the most salient (McKirnan & Hamayan, 1984; Lange & Westin, 1985).

However, according to De Vos (1975), ethnicity is frequently related more to the symbol of a separate language than to its actual use by all members of a group. Moreover, although particular languages have transcended national frontiers, as have English, French, and Spanish, ethnicity is not broadened to include all speakers of the language any more than it encompasses all believers in a common faith or all people with similar life styles.



### **2.2.3 Religion and ethnic identity**

Another aspect that can be used to identify someone's ethnic identity is religion. As De Vos (1975) says, folk religion very often takes the form of myths about the uniqueness of a group or its genesis. Even universalist faiths such as Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam, according to De Vos (1975) can also contribute to ethnic group cohesion when sectarian differences become important as a matter of group loyalty and identification. Thus, for some groups, religious beliefs about their historical origin and past tribulations provide the vital definition of who they are. The loss of native religion may cause the loss of morale (De Vos, 1975).

### **2.2.4 Aesthetic cultural patterns and ethnic identity**

Aesthetic cultural patterns are also included in ethnic identity, according to De Vos (1975). Particular cultures afford particular patterns related to aesthetic traditions, used symbolically as a basis of self and social identity. Taste in food, dance traditions, music, styles of clothing, the way/pattern of communication and definition of physical beauty, are all examples of how cultures identify themselves by aesthetic patterns.

## **Conclusion**

From the discussion above of identity and ethnic identity, this study defines identity as a perception of oneself as an individual and as a member of social group. Identity thus has two dimensions, personal and social. However, personal and social identities, in this study, are treated neither as totally distinct aspects of self nor completely indistinguishable. It can be argued that, although personal identity cannot be separated from the context in which it develops, the meaning given by the

person to different components of social experiences is a matter of individual preference.

This study also has concluded that an individual may perceive him/her self in many different identity forms, due to his/her involvement in and attachment to, roles assigned within various social structures or groups. Identity is viewed as a multiple sense of self. It includes one's emotional attachment and sense of belonging. In relation to ethnic identity, this view means that a person may identify him/herself as belonging to a certain group or ethnic group, which has cultural distinctiveness or characteristics that differentiate it from others.

Ethnic identity in this study is viewed as a social identity. An ethnic group itself is defined as a group of people who hold a common culture, by means of a set of traditions, language, religion, dress, customs, codes values and belief systems. Ethnicity includes an individual's perception about himself or herself: a feeling of belonging, involvement, concern and pride in relation to a particular ethnic group. It is seen as a subjective process, as well as being defined by objective criteria; as both ascribed and achieved. Taking this membership of a particular group to be ultimately a matter of individual choice, this study views ethnic identity as also in part a choice constrained by structural considerations. Since this study accepts the concept of multiple identities, it is assumed that a person also holds other social identities while he/she identifies his/herself with a particular ethnic group.

In investigating ethnic identity, this study uses three measures of ethnic identity: objective, behavioral and subjective measures. By objective measure is meant cultural features or characteristics that clearly differentiate one group from others. Subjective measures refer to feelings – how close, how attached an individual feels toward a particular cultural group; and what it means to claim oneself to be part of a

particular social or ethnic group. Finally, the behavioral measures refer to specific concrete ways in which a member of an ethnic group would express their membership if they wished to be so identified.

Since this study is looking at the strength of Minangkabau culture as a source of ethnic identity among Minangkabau girls, the characteristics of the Minangkabau culture are used as variables of Minangkabau identity. Therefore, the section below will present the aspects of Minangkabau culture in general and Minangkabau woman in particular -the concept of womanhood in Minangkabau culture. Finally it will present other identities available to the respondents.

### **2.3 Minangkabau Identity**

The Minangkabau people are well known for five distinctive features: (1) their matrilineal system, (2) *adaik* (traditional law and custom), (3) the language they use, (4) being Muslim and (5) *merantau* (literally meaning to go to *rantau* or outlying territories of Minangkabau land). This section will describe these five features as Minangkabau ethnic identity.

#### **2.3.1 Matriarchy**

The main feature of the social structure of the Minangkabau people is a matrilineal system of descent. The functions of this system are supported by *adaik*, or traditional law and custom. Based on this *adaik*, descent and family status are identified through the mother's line. Within the nuclear family, mother and children belong to one extended family, that of the mother, while the father remains a member of his mother's family.

Generally, there are three main kinship levels in this system. The first level or the elementary level is that of mother and her children, called *samandai*, meaning “of one mother” (deJong, 1952; Naim, 1973; Blackwood, 1993) or *sapariuak*, denoting those who eat from one rice pot (Beckman, 1979). According to Thomas (1977) and Tanner (1974) the *pariuak* can also include the husband. The next kinship level is called *saparuik*, originating from one womb, which typically refers to the extended family. A *paruik* consists of all the children of one woman plus the children of her daughters (deJong, 1952:10). These extended matrilineal family members used commonly to live together in a *rumah gadang* (big house), which refers to the large multigenerational dwellings with buffalo horn-shaped roofs (Schwede, 1991). According to *adaik* law, members of *paruik* should share the *harato pusako* (ancestral property) of the kin group such as rice fields, fishponds, graveyards, ceremonial clothing and the like. Above the *paruik* is the *suku*, which often translated as clan. This clan is led by ‘*Datuak* or *Pengulu*’ (lineage chief). There are about 100 *suku* in Minangkabau group, but all are associated with either the *Koto Piliang* or the *Bodi Chaniago*, the name of two major clans (Schwede, 1991). *Adaik* does not permit intermarriage between members of the same *suku*. Thus, in every marriage, the husband and wife will belong to different *suku*.

Each matrilineal group is led by a *mamak*, a mother’s brother, and the leadership role is usually occupied by the oldest *mamak*. According to Minangkabau *adaik*, a *mamak* is expected to protect and guide his sister’s children, and all of the members of the matrilineage are under his supervision (Murad, 1980). Abdullah (1971) suggests that the foundation of the Minangkabau social system rests on a matrilineal *mamak-kemenakan* (uncle-nephew) network. As leader of the matrilineal group, the *mamak* is responsible for the maintenance of inherited property and for the welfare of his *kemenakan* (nephews and nieces). The *kemenakan*, in turn, according to Abdullah (1971) must consider the *mamak* as his/her leader. The relationship

between *kemenakan* and *mamak* used to be very close. Their relationship is expressed in traditional thought in the following saying: *Kok pai katampek hatanyo, kok pulang katampek habarito* (when you leaves, he [the *mamak*] is the one to ask; when you return, he is the one to whom to give your news) (Marjohan. 1997). This means that *mamak* is the person whom *kemenakan* must ask for permission whenever he leaves and who must be informed when he returns. The *mamak* is regarded as the sociological father for his sister's children (*kemenakan*).

The matrilineal system of descent also governs how property will be divided for use by family members. As it has been mentioned before, there are two types of property in Minangkabau *adaik* namely: ancestral property (*harato pusako tinggi*) such as land, houses (*rumah gadang*) and other valuable goods, and property that is obtained by a man or woman during marriage (*harato pusako randah*). The *harato pusako tinggi* (the ancestral properties) are passed from one generation to the next through the female line (deJong, 1975; Abdullah, 1985; Schwede, 1991; Kahn, 1992; Fanany, 1995; Reenen, 1996). This type of property cannot be sold by individuals; it can only be disposed of permanently through consensus between men and women in that lineage. The *harato pusako randah* (the earned property during marriage) does not fall under the same traditional rules of inheritance as ancestral property. This type of property is inherited by the surviving spouse or children according to Islamic rules (Abdullah, 1985; Kahn, 1992). In the case of divorce, this property remains in the possession of whoever earned it; while ancestral property reverts to the family from which it originated (normally that of the wife) (Navis, 1984).

In the Minangkabau matrilineal system, the husband is regarded as a *sumando*, a guest in his wife's house. Traditionally, the husband comes to his wife's house in the evening and returns to his mother's home early in the morning. For this reason, women as mothers become central to basic cultural values and in the day-to-day

decision making for the ongoing functioning of the matrikin (Tanner & Thomas, 1985). They have a central economic responsibility in providing for their children and husband as well as for their children's education from as many sources as possible, from their ancestral property, home industries, market work, jobs, and whatever they obtain from husbands, brothers and sons (Pak, 1980, 1986; Prindiville, 1981; Reenen, 1996). Among these sources of income, the woman is supported by her brothers or *mamak* of her children, who has a special responsibility for his *kemenakan*. Thus, a husband in the traditional Minangkabau matrilineal system has almost no responsibility in the upkeep of his children. His position toward his children is only regarded as that of a biological father. His primary social and economic duties and rights are as a *mamak* towards his sisters' children. He, as a *mamak*, represents his sister and their children (the *samande* unit) in the outside world.

However, many changes have taken place in Minangkabau society over the past few decades, especially since concepts and ideologies that are presented as 'modern' have been introduced to Minangkabau and have influenced their ways of thinking and living (Abdullah, 1985; Naim, 1985; Schwede, 1991; Reenen, 1996; Firman, 1997). Naim (1985) noted the following changes. It is true that fewer lineage houses are now built in the form of *rumah gadang*. The *samande* now live in a separate house, apart from the extended family. Normally their houses are build adjacent to each other on the same *kaum* or *suku* (clan) land. The *samando* who used to be a mere guest of honor with little responsibility now plays more active roles as a father and husband. He may be living more or less permanently with his wife and children. He may even be the one who built the house. In socio-economic terms, he is now actually the head of the nuclear unit and thus responsible for the care and raising of his children. As a *mamak*, who used to be responsible for the upbringing and the welfare of the extended unit, he now plays a more supervisory and ceremonial role.

This changing role of the husband has brought about changes in Minangkabau women's attitude toward their role in the family. Before, Minangkabau women were more independent in economic terms, and in making decisions concerning day-to-day life for their families. Now they are more dependent on their husband (Firman, 1997). However, the shift to a more active role of the father as breadwinner for his wife and children cannot be interpreted to mean that the lineage system is now becoming more bilateral or even patrilineal. A woman's children still belong to her kin group. Naim (1985) stated that what seems to have been occurring is a trend toward a nucleated residence pattern while the matrilineal kinship system is preserved.

### **2.3.2 Minangkabau *Adaik***

In traditional Minangkabau society, the patterns of thought and actions of the people have been guided by matriarchy, Islam and *merantau*. Behavior in daily life of the people is based on these three factors (Marjohan, 1997). As has been mentioned above, the traditions that have grown up around these cultural characteristics have become institutionalized as *adaik*, traditional law or custom that orders Minangkabau society. *Adaik* applies to a range of practices, including social, ceremonial and kinship relations. *Adaik* serves to distinguish the Minangkabau from other ethnic groups in Indonesia and also one village from another in West Sumatra, since each village, it is said, has its own *adaik*.

The *adaik* of Minangkabau has been classified into four categories (Naim, 1973; Navis, 1984; Hakimy, 1994; Reenen, 1996). The first category is *adaik nan sabana adaik* (*adaik* that is truly *adaik*) referring to universal values that are imperishable. It reflects the fundamental principles of Minangkabau philosophy and consists of

natural laws which have been acquired by the Minangkabau and have been transmitted from generation to generation (Reenen, 1996). Some authors argue that what is meant by ‘*adaik* that is truly *adaik*’ is the matrilineal system, the central position of the matrilineage heads and the existence of *suku* (matriclan) in the *nagari* (village). However, many *adaik* experts nowadays say that Islamic doctrine is included in this category. *Adaik* that is truly *adaik* is considered eternally valid: ‘it does not rot in rain nor crack in heat’ (*indak lapuak dek hujan, indak lakang dek panas*).

The second category is the ‘*adaik nan taadaik or adaik nan diadaikkan*’ (*adaik* that has been made *adaik*). This type of *adaik* refers to the general principles, laws and rules that people are accustomed to. Examples are matrilineal groupings, kinship stratification, and marital law. In marital law, Minangkabau women are prohibited from marrying men from outside the *nagari* and also forbidden to marry men from the same *suku*. The ideal marriage according to Minangkabau *adaik* is a cross-cousin marriage. The Minangkabau call this the marriage between a man’s child and his *kemenakan*, his sister’s child. There are special expressions to designate maternal and paternal cross-cousin marriages, seen from a male point of view. When a man marries the daughter of his *mamak* (mother’s brother), this is called: *pulang ka mamak* (going home to one’s *mamak*). When he marries the daughter of his father’s sister, it is called: *pulang ka bako* (going home to one’s father’s matrikin).

The third category is *adaik yang teradaik* (*adaik* that has become *adaik*): local *adaik*. According to Reenen (1996), this *adaik* is based on decisions taken in the village council (*Kerapatan Adaik Nagari*) after a process of deliberation (*musyawarah*) and consensus (*mufakat*). This type of *adaik* is more flexible and can be changed according to the situation and time. The last category is *adaik istidaik* (specialized *adaik*). It can refer to general Minangkabau customs as well as local



*adaik*. This category includes customs, ceremonies and social behavior that are considered appropriate but not obligatory (Reenen. 1996). Knowing *adaik*, in terms of appropriate conduct or behavior (*adaik*), is very important for Minangkabau people. Indeed, traditionally in Minangkabau society, a person who is regarded as a good person is someone who knows *adaik*, although he/she might not necessarily be an authority on *adaik*.

One of the most important *adaik* in terms of social proprieties in relationships is *hasa-basi* (Errington, 1984). *Basa-basi* is valued greatly and is regarded as appropriate and obligatory mannerliness by Minangkabau people. It can be used to characterize Minangkabau behavior. Minangkabau people are well known by other Indonesian people as people who excel in terms of *basa-basi*. It is hard to find a single English word that covers the meaning of *basa-basi* because it includes courtesy, politeness, and ethics. *Basa-basi* means that someone must, for example, offer his/her beverage to people who sit close to him/her or to all those present in the coffee shop before beginning to drink or eat; or that a man has to bring cigarettes even if he is a non-smoker, so that he could offer them around whenever he sits down in a group meeting.

Another important feature of *adaik* in terms of social proprieties is that of knowing how to behave or to speak to people in different ages, sexes, and positions. There are four types of language styles that are used in communication according to Minangkabau *adaik*, namely: *kato mandaki*, the language style that is used by someone in conversation with other persons who are older than him/her; *kato mandatar*, the language style that is used in conversation between people of the same age; *kato manurun*, the language style that is used by someone with other persons who are more younger, and *kato malereng*, the language style that is used to

*sumando* (in eg. between parents-in-law and son-in-law). Decorum in clothing is also one of the most important of the social proprieties among Minangkabau people.

### **2.3. 3 Language**

Although the official language of West Sumatra is the Indonesian language (*bahasa* Indonesia), the regional language of Minangkabau people is Minang language (*bahasa* Minang). According to Sudarno (cited in Fanany 1997), Minang is quite close linguistically to the Indonesian language (and to Malay) and could be classified as a dialect rather than a distinct language. However, many linguists consider Minang to be a separate language from Malay or Indonesian (Omar, 1992 cited in Fanany, 1997). In fact, Indonesian and Malay speakers who do not know Minang cannot understand Minang, when Minang is spoken. In addition, as a language, Minang itself has four main different dialects (Fanany, 1997). These four dialects of Minang are those of Agam, Tanah Datar, Lima Puluh Kota, and the coast.

Beside Indonesian and Minang spoken in West Sumatra, there are two other languages which are spoken in the community. These languages are English and Arabic. English is considered to be the most important foreign language in Indonesia, as well as in Minangkabau society. The knowledge of English is often associated with high levels of education and professional status. This language is taught in all levels of education. However, the use of English in the daily lives of Minangkabau people has little significance.

The other foreign language is Arabic. If English is associated with higher education and professionalism, Arabic is associated with piety and scholarliness in religious matters (Fanany, 1997). Unlike English, the use of Arabic in daily life is more frequent for most people in West Sumatra. The five daily prayers are said in Arabic.

Many Arabic phrases or expressions are also used in people's daily conversation. For example, on entering a house or answering the telephone, people say *Assalamu'alaikum* (may God bless you). People say '*Bismillahirrohmannirohim*' (by the name of God) before doing something, and say '*Alhamdulillah*' (praise be to God, the Lord of the world) after finish doing something. The word '*Innalillahi wainnai laihirojiun*' (everything comes from God, and will come back to God) will be said when people hear someone past-away. When hearing something awful, people say *Astaqhfirullahal-'azim* (oh my God, please forgive me).

Arabic is the language of Islam, and adherence to Islam is a part of Minang identity. The use of Arabic in such way is a signal of group membership, and it is also closely related to social acceptability and respectability as well as to appropriate public behavior.

#### **2.3.4 Religion: Islam**

Being Minang is synonymous with being Muslim. If a person wants to be called a Minangkabau, he or she must be Muslim. The Minangkabau people will feel uncomfortable and embarrassed if they are referred to as non-Muslim (considered non-religious or having other religion). As Junus (1993:261) says: "If there are Minangkabau people who are not Muslim, it seems a surprising peculiarity, even though most of them are probably nominal Muslims who do not practice all the religion's requirements".

Despite the seeming clash between the matrilineal system and Islamic law, *syariah*, which supports of patrilineal system, over time the Minangkabau have achieved a balance between Minangkabau *adaik* (customs, beliefs and laws) and Islamic principles. Many Minangkabau do not see any contradiction between *adaik* and

religious values and dogma. As Kahn (1992:120) states ‘... at least in my experience of Minangkabau in the 1970s, most people saw no real problem in integrating *adaik* and Islam’. In many ways, social practices are both Islamic and Minangkabau, the two closely connected within Minangkabau thought (Benda-Beckmann, Franz & Keebet Von, 1988; Whalley, 1991; 1993). Abdullah argues that the two, *adaik* and Islam seem to complement each other (Abdullah, 1971). The connection between the two value systems is expressed in the following maxim: *adaik* is based on *syarak* (i.e. Islamic law) and *syarak* is based on the Qur’an.

*Adaik* and Islam accommodate each other in several ways to guide people’s behavior (Marjohan, 1997). First, *adaik* and Islam try to deal with the distribution of property by differentiating this property into two categories. There is ancestral property (*harato pusako tinggi*), which should be distributed to heirs based on matrilineal inheritance rules; and earned property (*harato pusako randah*), which should be distributed on the basis of Islamic laws (Abdullah, 1985; Kahn, 1992). Second, both *adaik* and Islam support the important role of women as well as men (Abdullah, 1985; Junus, 1993; Hakimy, 1994a). If *adaik* gives an important place for woman in matrilineal inheritance, Islam has suggested that women, as mothers, are the first place for loyalty, devotion, or service from children. As The Prophet Mohamed says in the *hadist*: “paradise is located beneath the soles of the feet of the mother”, which Dt. Rajo Pengulu interprets to mean as ‘physical and mental well being is to be attained through respecting one’s mother (cited in Reenen, 1996). In addition, the roles of women in public decision-making, economics, and ceremonial life according to *adaik* do not contradict Islamic teaching. In relation to rights and duties, according to *adaik*, women as mothers have duties to give advice to their children and guide them in the proper way. *Adaik* is resonant with the Islamic ideal of women as the mother who is educator and guide for her children. In the decision-making concerning family lineage, *adaik* implies that men and women have an equal

voice. It is in line with Islamic teaching which says that men and women are equal in the eyes of God. Finally, women's prominence in rice production, business and other work outside the home, according to *adaik* is 'natural' as an extension of her control of lineage riceland (Blackwood, 1993). In regard to this economic activity, Islam stated that women have the right to own and administer property and to conduct business (Salyo, 1985 cited in Blackwood, 1993:34). Moreover, Lucy Anne Whalley (1993) has argued that Islam may provide Minangkabau women with new sources of power in domains outside of the direct applicability of *adaik*. In fact, by embracing modernist Islam and education, Minangkabau women have created for themselves new professional possibilities in the urban context.

However, according to Reenen (1996), new educational and professional opportunities for men and women, with a concomitant increasing infiltration by women into the public sphere, may also result in conflict and revolt against *adaik*. Educated young women may be trapped between 'modern' aspirations of individualism and freedom, and the rules, prohibitions and taboos, which exist in *adaik*.

Third, both *adaik* and Islam put priority on the demonstration of ethical behavior among their followers (Hakimy, 1994a). Finally, Islam has provided additional ways for handling marriages and funerals that supplement those contained in *adaik* (Hakimy, 1994a).

### **2.3.5 Merantau**

*Merantau* (out migration) has been identified as one of the distinctive features of Minangkabau society, through voluntary migration with the clear intention of eventually returning home is not unique to Minangkabau (Naim, 1985). Many

studies have been conducted concerning of Minangkabau migration (Naim, 1973; Kato, 1977, 1982; Murad, 1980; Schwede, 1991). According to Naim (1973), in the early 1970s, the number of Minangkabau people living outside the province of West Sumatra was nearly half of the province's population. Kato (1982) found that the majority of men in his village sample had experienced migration. These data indicate that *merantau* is clearly a part of Minangkabau culture.

There are various reasons why Minangkabau people have traditionally left their home region and continue to do so today. Naim (1973) identifies a number of reasons. These reasons are geographical isolation, population pressure, economic conditions, the desire for a good education, political unrest, urban attractions, and social structure affording a weak position for men in the matrilineal system. The last reason is also offered by Hamka (1946), Abdullah (1971), Swift (1971) and Kato (1982). They indicate that the position of men in the matrilineal system is a very important causative factor in *merantau*. Conversely, *merantau* has also have maintained the matrilineal system (Kato, 1977). Naim (1985) pointed out that in areas of greatest *merantau*, the role of women in the household has become more important. Since there are no longer enough men to work in the fields or house, women do all those jobs. Often women are forced to make decisions without consulting the men (Naim, 1985).

## 2.4 Minangkabau Womanhood

The place of woman in Minangkabau society is explained in the proverbs below:

*Bundo kanduang, limpapeh rumah nan gadang,  
umbun puruak pegangan kunci,  
umbun puruak aluang bunian, pusek jalo kumpulan tali,  
sumarak di dalam kampuang,  
hiyasan dalam nagari,*

*nan gadang basa batuah,  
kok hiduek tampek banasa,  
kok mati tampek baniaik,  
kaunduang-unduang ka Madinah,  
payung panji ka Sarugo.*

Bundo Kanduang, is the butterfly of the big house (rumah gadang)  
holds the key to wealth,  
is the top of the net and the spool that holds the string,  
is the centre of people in the village,  
is an ornament of the state, and is revered,  
while she lives, you can swear by her name,  
when she is dead, you vow to her memory,  
she makes laws that cannot be changed,  
she is the cloth that will shelter you on the road to Medinah  
and she is the umbrella that will shelter you on the way to Heaven. (Fanany,  
1997).

The image of Minangkabau women is expressed in the title of *Bundo Kanduang*. Literally *Bundo Kanduang* means ‘mother of the womb’ or ‘one’s own mother’. However, it does not refer to one’s own biological mother. The term is applied to any senior woman in a lineage. *Bundo Kanduang* is first the name of the wise, intelligent, and fair queen-mother in the well-known Minangkabau myth *Cindua Mato*. In Minangkabau drama and literature, the senior woman, *Bundo Kanduang*, is always represented as a wise, intelligent, strong, and nurturant woman. Therefore, *Bundo Kanduang* is an ideal image of womanhood in Minangkabau society. In the two well known stories *Kaba Rancak Dilabueh* and *Kaba Cinduo Mato*, Minangkabau women as mothers have the characteristics of motherly wisdom, initiative, assertiveness, stability, strength, integrity, and practicality (Tanner & Thomas, 1985; Schwede, 1991; Blackwood, 1993). More specifically, Hakimy (1994b) said that a Minangkabau woman, as a woman, wife and mother, should represent the ideal of a modest woman, who is wise, strong, thoughtful to others, friendly and caring, well-spoken, soft and tender in speech, who knows how to

behave in the proper way, is good at keeping family secrets, at hiding feelings of dislike towards someone or something, who likes to work hard, knows how to manage the household, and is good at cooking and sewing.

In addition, in the Minangkabau *adaik*, a Minangkabau woman is regarded as a central pillar, a *limpapeh*, of a traditional house, a *rumah gadang*. As “a central pillar”, a senior woman is responsible for basic cultural values and in the day-to-day decision making for the ongoing functioning of her matrikin. The image of *bundo kanduang* contrasts with that of the husband; whereas *bundo kanduang* refers to the stable element in circles of family, kin and society, old *adaik* sayings present the position of the husband as peripheral. As the famous saying goes: ‘the husband is like ashes on the fireplace’: one blow and he is gone (Reenen, 1996:3).

Moreover, according to *adaik*, Minangkabau women are considered as the people who are responsible for the continuity of the generation since the line of descent is traced through women. Women, in the Minangkabau *adaik* have first rights to houses and land; they are the custodians of ancestral property (*harato pusako tinggi*); they ‘hold the key to the treasure chest’. In addition, their opinion is very important for the success or failure of the implementation of any decision taken in the family and kin group. In fact, no decision will be made without agreement from the senior women. From her research, Blackwood (1993) found that for problems within the sublineage, people talk to the senior woman first. If she is able to, and the problem is one which is confined to the *kampung* (residential area in which a group of related kin live), the senior woman can resolve the problem without calling the mother’s brother (*mamak*). If the issue is beyond the *kampung*, the *mamak* has to be told about it. In relation to the property, since the woman controls the property, Benda-Beckman (1979) says that she is the one who has the dominant voice in the distribution of the group’s property. The senior woman is the one who makes



decisions regarding the use and disposition of riceland and the disposition of the products of that land. She decides when and how much of her riceland to give to her daughters or how much to let her sons use.

From the description above, it is clear that in the Minangkabau matrilineal system, women have a strong position in a lineage. Women have a central responsibility for the protection family lands; overseeing production from those lands; supervising the household, including all expenditures and the education of the children; contributing to the consensus process when decisions need to be made; and upholding the precepts of tradition and religion (Fanany, 1997). This central role in the functioning of the community and household is supported by *adaik* and custom and engenders a very high level of respect for women in the community (Hakimy, 1994b).

Although *adaik* represents the woman as the central pillar of the house and the husband as ashes on the fireplace, it does not mean that female is considered superior to the male or that women hold the ultimate power in society. *Bundo Kanduang*, the legendary queen, is depicted as the source of knowledge and the mother of Minangkabau World, but she does not possess the power to make decisions on her own or act independently. She is an honored advisor, but she does not function as an executor (Reenen, 1996). *Bundo Kanduang* needs males at her side to realize her potential (Abdullah, 1970; Alfian & Fortuna, 1983). In the actual social life in the village, the senior women are honored members of the community, yet the chiefs or the representatives of the matrilineages and clans to outsiders are male. At levels of social order, such as the big house, males also play a significant role as mother's brother, *mamak*, or senior male member of the big house (*tungganai rumah gadang*). Men as well as women play a part in and are needed for the decision-making processes within the family, the kin group, and the wider local community.

In sharp contrast to the image of *Bundo Kanduang* as strong mothers, central pillars of the house, there stands the image of Sitti Nurbaya. Sitti Nurbaya is the name of the young woman who is the leading character in a novel by Marah Rusli (1922/1990). She grew up in a relatively liberal urban environment, in the city of Padang. Due to unfortunate circumstances she had to give up the young man she loves (and who loves her) and instead is forced to marry an old man, Datuk Maringgih, whom she despises. Her marriage brings her nothing but sorrow and she decides to run away. Shortly thereafter she is poisoned by an accomplice of her husband and dies.

Since the 1920s, there have been many other Minangkabau novels, which deal with similar problems: tension and disputes arising from conflicting values and expectations between groups and generations. The leading characters in these novels are young, educated men and women who are caught between ‘modern’ aspirations of individualism and freedom, and the rules, prohibitions and taboos imposed on them by *adaik*. Although many of these novels were written more than half a century ago, they have not yet lost their relevance to urban and educated Minangkabau people. Therefore, in Minangkabau society, there are two images of women, two side of one coin. One is an image of Sitti Nurbaya symbolizing for young girls as the victims of *adaik* values and bonds, and the other is an image of *Bundo Kanduang* symbolizing the strength and authority of senior women confined by *adaik*.

## **Conclusion**

From the study of the literature on the Minangkabau above as it relates to this study, it can be concluded that Minangkabau girls’ identity can be classified into two broad categories: the first is girls as Minangkabau people in general and the second is girls

as Minangkabau woman in particular. As Minangkabau in general, their identity is attached to two distinctive features of Minangkabau people and to Minangkabau community. The first distinctive feature of the Minangkabau people is Minangkabau *adaik*, and the second is the ensemble of culturally specific practices, which is defined in this chapter as subset of the wider notion of culture, namely language, dress, Minang oral discussion (*petatah-petitih*), dance, and music. As Minangkabau women in particular, girls' identity was attached to the ideal roles and to the ideal characteristics of Minangkabau women.

## **2.5 National Identity as Indonesian**

This section will present the Indonesian identity. This identity is included in this study as an alternative identity available to the respondents.

Indonesia, as a land and as a society is far the largest and displays by far the greatest diversity of all the ASEAN countries. It has the largest number of islands, which are occupied by the greatest number of ethnic groups and tribes with different religions and beliefs, and speaking different languages and dialects.

In nations of such ethnic diversity, a serious problem for national political leaders is that of establishing a national language that promotes unity among all citizens and a feeling of nationhood and allegiance to the country. Typically the country's varied language groups fail to agree on which tongue everyone should learn in common. But Indonesia is the exception. During Dutch colonial times, a conference of young people from widely separate sections of the East-Indies colony convened in 1928 and declared that they would in the future be regarded as one people united in a single country with one language (*satu bangsa, satu negara, satu bahasa*). The one language would be called the Indonesian language (*Bahasa Indonesia*). This

language became a national language after the country declared its independence on the 17th of August 1945. Thus, one characteristic of the Indonesian people is that they speak Indonesian language.

In addition, since its independence, the founding fathers of Indonesia have formulated an ideology for the new independent country called '*Pancasila*' (five basic principles). These five principles are used to give ideological support to the existence of the state and to maintain the unity of Indonesian people and land in diversity. These five principles as stated in the People Assembly Decree No. II/MPR/1978 are:

**\* Belief in the One and only God.**

This first of the five pillars of the State carries with it the freedom of worship. Every Indonesian should believe in God according to his/her own faith. Under this principle, each religious group is expected to respect other religious groups; and it is also expected that each religious group should not impose its religious believe on other different religious groups.

It must be stressed that Belief in One God, as the first pillar, cannot be separated from each of the four other State pillars. All the principles are interrelated, mutually qualifying each other, and therefore cannot and may not be interpreted singly.

**\* Just and Civilized Humanity**

To understand this principle, the suffering brought about by centuries of oppression and subjugation of the people, who fought and died to achieve freedom and independence must be born in mind. Their demand for justice and for human dignity

and freedom simply means that the human factor must always be taken into consideration; people must be central in all that has to be decided and done in both word and deed. The implications of this *sila* (principle) are that people are not just a cogs in a vast economic machine serving purposes outside themselves. People have a higher destiny than just to live well. Therefore, people are central to the life of the nation and the State, and this can only be properly expressed through respect, tolerance and consideration towards one another.

#### **\* The Unity of Indonesia**

Indonesian nationalism was the spiritual force that united the people in the struggle for independence; it was the conviction that to die for freedom was better than to live without freedom. And today it is an integral part of the cornerstone of *Pancasila*.

Indonesian nationalism is impregnated with the moral values of the other four principles of *Pancasila*. It cannot be detached from the other *sila*: the Belief in the One and only God, the belief in a Just and Civilized Humanity, the belief in Democracy and Social Justice. It needs to be emphasized that the Indonesian concept of nationalism and international solidarity are based on believing in spiritual values, above all belief in God, whom it is believed in His divine powers created people and nations with equal rights to live in harmony, peace and justice. The motto used by the Indonesian nation in regard to the unity of Indonesia is '*Bhinneka Tunggal Eka*' or 'Unity in Diversity'.

This principle encourages the idea that Indonesian people have preserve unity in diversity. This unity in diversity can only be maintained through mutual understanding and respect between ethnic groups with different languages and

religions; through the feelings of attachment and love for the land of Indonesia and towards fellow countrymen and women; through willingness to defend and sacrifice oneself for the country; and through the commitment of each individual citizen to put the community or the country's interest above the interest of individuals or groups.

**\* Democracy led by the wisdom of Deliberations amongst Representatives.**

This *sila* express the idea that the Indonesian people have adopted their own brand of democracy due to the fact that the history, tradition, idiosyncrasies, geography, culture and other characteristics of the Indonesian people are different from those of the Western countries. Such democracy is *Pancasila* Democracy. The heart of this democracy is that decisions are reached by consensus under the guidance of a wise leader.

**\* Social Justice for the whole of the People of Indonesia**

Indonesians did not only intend to make modifications in the society they inherited from colonialism, but they struggled to establish a completely new society where justice prevails; where prosperity is for all and where materials and spiritual security for men, women, and children are guaranteed. This is the true content and meaning of the fifth principle of *Pancasila*.

From the description above of *Pancasila* as Indonesian identity, it can be seen that being Indonesian means being *Pancasilaist*. Citizens should maintain harmony between individuals and groups. They are able to mix with a variety of people and take them for what they are. The *Pancasilaist* person believes in God; respects other people's rights and way of life; practices equal rights, recognises obligations and

feels mutual love; is proud of being Indonesian; proud of the achievement of Indonesian people, loves his/her country and people, supports for Indonesian products, and willing to make sacrifices for the interest of the nation and the State.

Since this study is about girls, it is necessary to look at the ideology of Indonesian womanhood, since one's identity in Indonesia is strongly gendered. The section below will explore the ideal of Indonesian woman identity.

### **2.5.1 Civic Ideal for Indonesian Women**

The image of the Indonesian woman is that being a 'good' wife and mother to the family, the community and the nation (Sunindyo, 1993: 136). This concept of a woman's role existed before the New Order of the government came to power, but the state has further strengthened it.

Soon after the New Order government came to power, the Ministry of Internal Affairs launched a programme called the Family Welfare Movement (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga*, PKK). PKK as a 'movement' has and continues to promote what is called *Panca Dharma Wanita* (the five precepts of women's faith and duties). According to these, a wife's role is to support her husband, provide offspring, care for and rear the children, be a good housekeeper, and be the guardian of the community (Sunindyo, 1993).

In 1974, a new women's organization, *Dharma Wanita*, was formed by the government with the First Lady of the republic of Indonesia as the Chairperson (Mangunwijaya, 1987). All the wives of civil servants (*pegawai negeri*) automatically became members. By founding this women's organization, the government aimed to strengthen national unity ideologically, secure the loyalty of government employees,

increase political stability, concentrate all the energy of the civil service on assisting the economic development plan, and, finally, encourage the wives of government employees to support their husbands' careers and responsibilities (Mangunwijaya, 1987). The goals of *Dharma Wanita* are to give guidance in promoting and strengthening women's consciousness and sense of responsibility towards the nation, promote the channeling of 'sisterly' feeling under one unified national banner; and mobilize all wives' organization in serving the nation (Suryochondro, 1984).

Although *Dharma Wanita* is a women's organization, its main objective is not promoting women's rights or advocating feminist issues. Its main objective is implementing PKK programs. *Dharma Wanita*'s programs in the rural areas is to teach women in the rural areas to be 'good' wives and mother. By doing this, *Dharma Wanita* has helped the state in cultivating and strengthening the ideology of motherhood, that is, of being a 'good' wife and mother for the family, the community and the nation (Mosse, 1985).

The New Order government, concerned about its development plans, drew up the 1983 Guidelines for National Policy (Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara) which designated the PKK as a national program for women which would be the means to promote women's contribution to and participation in the development process. The appointment of an Assistant Minister of Women's Affairs (1982) in the Cabinet has further strengthened the ideology of women as mothers of the nation. The main objective of the Assistant Minister of Women's Affairs is to promote the role of women in increasing the welfare and health of the family (Sunindyo, 1993). Thus, what is described as the integration of the role of women into development is actually the encouragement of a 'functionalist' role, which disregards gender inequality within the existing sexual division of labor in the family and society. That



is, women are encouraged to work outside the house in order to help their family welfare, and at the same time they are expected to be a 'good' wives and mothers. This is the ideology that both Indonesian New Order government officials and women's organization spokespersons claim as the difference between 'Indonesian' feminism and 'Western' feminism (Indonesian Institute of Manpower. 1975).

The identity of women and girls as citizens of Indonesia therefore, has been developed very specifically in gendered terms. It also includes contribution to the non-private dimension of Indonesian life, in keeping with the new order's general ideology of development. The failure of the Dharma Wanita to take account of existing gender inequality in the family in prescribing the key responsibilities of motherhood, work force constitution, indicates the absence of salience of a right-based conception of Indonesian citizenship in the case of women citizens.

Popular culture supports the ideal of women as wives and mothers. In most of the film dramas and cinetron directed by Indonesian movie directors, the place of woman is at home with her family, and even if she works outside the house, the family should have first priority in her life. As Indonesian woman in particular, girls' identity is to be attached to these ideal roles of Indonesian woman, which has been described by the Indonesian government in the PKK (Family Welfare Movement).

## **Conclusion**

From the study on the Indonesian identity above, it can be concluded that girls' identity as Indonesian can be classified into two categories: the first is girls as Indonesian citizens generally, and the second is girls as Indonesian women in particular. As Indonesian citizen in general, their identity is attached to the ideas of

*Pancasila* community and responsibilities towards the country. As Indonesian women in particular, their identity is attached to the ideal concept of Indonesian womanhood.

## **2.6 Globalized Identity**

This section will present the second alternative identity, globalized identity which might be associated with the variation in the girls' self-identification as Minangkabau.

As has been stated in the previous section identity, including ethnicity, is a non-fixed characteristic of the individual, a status that changes in each spatial, temporal and social context. Thus, the explanation of the weakening of identities based on ethnicity can be located within the framework of modernization theories. By modernization in this context is meant the social structural and attitudinal change associated with industrialization and urbanization (see eg. Levy, 1966; Horowitz, 1975). In modern societies, the nature of social relationships has altered, so that kinship ties and community ties, characterized by affectivity and diffuseness, have tended to weaken, and they have been replaced by social relationships characterized by specificity and affective neutrality (Giddens, 1990; Berman, 1982; Seligman, 1996; Julian, 1989). Orientation towards the self has increasingly replaced the collectivity-orientation characteristic of members in relatively less modern societies.

In addition, with advanced technology, the world has become increasingly interconnected – socially, culturally, economically and politically. People in every way, have become increasingly engaged in a “socially saturated world” – people know more, see more communicate more, and relate more than ever before (Gergen, 1996). Advanced technology has brought about clear effects on people's way of life,

seeing and behaving (Grodin, 1991; Kellner, 1992, Lewis, 1992, White, 1992; Schwichtenberge, 1993; Gergen, 1996; McNamee, 1996). More specifically, the vast expansion of technological capabilities has had tremendous impact on people's identity construction (McNamee, 1996). By switching the television channel or radio station, the magazine and newspaper, people can see an enormous array of possible identity models. People can learn new behaviors by watching soap operas exhibiting multiple lifestyles or different modes of young people's behavior and dress, and so forth. They can identify with the "real" images of local, national or international leaders, news reporters, talk shows personalities and so on.

What technology has done, according to McNamee (1996), is expand people's ideas of what is possible. Technological advances facilitate access to various lifestyles, communities, culture, family life, and partnering. This is probably, according to Horowitz (1976), the strongest pull in the breakup of older parochial beliefs, and the salience of ethnicity, as an ascribed attribute, has declined as a result of modernity (Julian, 1989).

Many of the postmodern theorists privilege popular culture as the site of the implosion of identity and fragmentation of the subject (Jameson, 1983; Kroker & Cook, 1986). In a modern or postmodern image culture, Kellner (1992) suggests that the images, scenes, stories, and cultural texts of so-called popular culture offer a wealth of subject positions which in turn help structure individual identity. These images project role and gender models, forms of behaviors, style, and fashion, and subtle enticements to emulate and identify (Kellner, 1992).

The field of popular culture is vast and we are only interested here in it as it differs from the gendered images of Minangkabau identity. Thus, in looking at the girls' attachment to globalized identity, this study investigated eight characteristics of such

an identity: having an equal status with man. not getting married early. having a boyfriend, following music trends. looking attractive, wearing trendy clothing and not caring what other people think.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY AND DATA GATHERING

The research problems of this thesis are firstly, the strength of Minangkabau identity in general; secondly, the strength of attachment to the Minangkabau ideal of womanhood in particular; and thirdly, to investigate what factors contribute to variance in the strength of Minangkabau identity among respondents. These problems shaped the research design in respect of the choice of methodology for collecting data, determining the variables under investigation, and the selection of sites which would encompass the different background variables of interest to be tested for; and finally, identification of appropriate statistical devices to analyze data. The following discussion addresses these aspects of the methodology in sequence.

#### 3.1 The choice of a Survey Approach

The research questions at the heart of the study were investigated through a survey using a quantitative method with a multi-site approach to research design. A survey method was adopted in order to provide a large sample, with less cost, and to enable different groups to be examined (Neuman, 1994; Burns, 1997; Sarantakos, 1998). In terms of the multi-site nature of the research design, data were gathered from three different school locations in West Sumatra. The first location was in the *darek* area, and the two other locations were in the *rantau* area. The selection of *rantau* and *darek* schools in this study was taken in order to answer Research Question 3, *what*

*factors are associated with the girls' attachment to Minangkabau identity?* More information about the selection of research sites is presented in the section 3.3.

The research adopted a two-stage approach. The first stage consisted of trials and reviews of the student questionnaire in order to minimize students' misunderstanding of the language used in the questionnaire and also to avoid unnecessary items. The second stage of the research consisted of the administration of the student questionnaire to a sample of first year senior high school girls at the selected schools. More about the selection of the research sites will be presented in the section 3.4.

### **3.2 Development of the Research Instrument**

The quantitative data were gathered from the first year senior high school Minangkabau girls through a structured questionnaire developed by the researcher. It consisted of categorical and scaled items.

The conceptual framework of the questionnaire was derived principally from relevant literature and background knowledge on identity, Minangkabau identity, Indonesian identity and globalized identity discussed in Chapter two. The variables on Minangkabau culture and identity were drawn from studies of Minangkabau *adaik*, aesthetic Minangkabau traditional culture and the Minangkabau ideal of womanhood. The variables were selected to measure attachment to these aspects of Minangkabau culture and identity were deliberately confined to their construct in academic literature on Minangkabau ethnicity. More informal cultural expressions such as Minangkabau popular music were excluded. While the development of an informal Minang culture, expressed particularly through popular Minang songs, is a feature of contemporary Minang society, this study avoided such phenomena in

order to maintain the distinction between traditional Minang culture and global influences. Popular Minang songs, while using Minang language mix original musical techniques with modern pop music. The variables on Indonesian identity were drawn from studies of *Pancasila*, the country's ideology, citizenship and roles advocated for Indonesian women. The variable on the globalized identity was drawn from the study of popular youth culture. Theoretical issues of the nature of identity itself, also discussed in that chapter, informed the way the questionnaire was structured. Specifically, the questions were structured as non-ranked group of items not requiring students to choose between alternatives, respecting the theoretical positions on the multiplicity of identities held by people.

The questionnaire was divided into four main aspects. The first aspect was related to the girls' background. The second aspect was related to ethnic identity as Minangkabau. The third aspect was related to national identity as Indonesian citizens, and the fourth aspect was related to a globalized identity not connected with any specific location, ethnicity or nationality. Appendix I contains the questionnaire, with questions grouped under the three research problems.

The aspect related to ethnic identity as Minangkabau sought data to answer Research Questions one and two: *how strongly do girls retain Minangkabau identity, and how strongly does the Minangkabau construct of identity for women still influence these girls*. This aspect consisted of 9 variables with 64 items. These 9 variables and their component items are:

1. The importance of Minangkabau *adaik* and of knowing Minangkabau *adaik*.
2. Salient aspects of Minangkabau *adaik* concerning women. These are: good manners according to *adaik*, roles of daughter according to *adaik*,

roles of mother (as a central pillar of the house, responsibility for generation continuity and responsibility for maintaining inheritance), wedding ceremonial.

3. Support for the practice of the matrilineal system. This variable consisted of: mother's role as a breadwinner, mother as a main decision-maker, the greater importance of daughters compared to sons, arrangement of marriage by mother and *mamak* (mother's brother), projected importance of brothers in respondents' future families, status of husband as guest in the house, marrying back to *mamak* (mother's brother) or *bako* (father's sister), roles of *mamak* (mother's brother), roles of father, and living together in *rumah gadang* (big house). There was also one contrast on patriarchal practice: father as a breadwinner.
4. Attachment to kin relationships: to mother, to father, to *mamak* (mother's brother), to *etek* (mother's sister), and to *bako* (father's sister).
5. Attachment to clan (*suku*).
6. Attitude towards the practice of Minangkabau social proprieties: protocols of behavior toward people of different positions, ages and sex, decorum and manners (*basa-basi*).
7. Attitude towards the construct of the ideal Minangkabau woman. These ideal attributes are: being wise, tender, thoughtful, good at keeping a secret, knowing how to behave in proper way, being mentally strong, modest, good at hiding feelings, liking to work hard, friendly and caring, knowing how to manage the household, and being good at cooking and sewing.
8. Attitude toward preserving and adhering to Minangkabau traditional culture, specially: using Minang language at home and in the future, wearing traditional woman's dress, being skilled in Minang oral



discussion (*petatah-petitih*), being involved in traditional cultural groups (Minangkabau dancing and music), and interest in traditional music.

9. Attachment to Minangkabau community: pride in the achievement of Minangkabau people, support for Minangkabau products, pride in being Minangkabau, love for the homeland, love for Minangkabau people, a sense of responsible for contributing to the prosperity of Minangkabau people.

In order to interpret what different levels of response meant in terms of *strength* of attachment, questions were provided seeking respondents' degree of attachment to other identities. The principle alternative identity was being Indonesian, and specifically identifying with the civic roles of the Indonesian construct of Indonesian womanhood. The emphasis in these questions was as follows:

1. Attachment to the Indonesian community expressed through pride in being Indonesian, support for Indonesian products, pride in the achievement of Indonesian people, love for the motherland, sense of responsibility to contribute to the prosperity of Indonesian people, attachment to Indonesian people, and feelings of solidarity with other groups in Indonesia.
2. Attitudes towards living in the kind of community advocated by *Pancasila*: living in a united country, living in a caring community, living in a community based on mutual respect, and putting community interests above the individuals' interest.
3. Commitment to the roles of citizen for Indonesian women. It consisted of the items: participation in community affairs (participation in social activities, in community decision-making, in women organizations, in politics, and going to war to defend the country), balancing working out

side the house and being a good mother, and accepting the family planning policy ('two children is enough').

The third identity on which respondents were questioned is one constructed out of elements which combine to suggest a non-prescribed, non-ascribed identity. Respondents' greater interest in the alternatives of this identity, compared to the others would indicate a weakening of the type of ascribed or primordial identity, such as the Minangkabau or Indonesian identity. The elements in this identity were:

1. Preference for gender equality in respect of life-choices and status, and independence.
2. Attachment to a globalized youth culture: following music trends, looking attractive, having a boy friend, wearing trendy clothing, not caring what other people think.

The final aspect of the questionnaire sought information about the background of the respondents. It was concerned, firstly with the socio-economic context of the respondents, and secondly, concerned with the practice of Minangkabau tradition at home. It consisted of four main items:

1. Parental education
2. Parental occupation
3. Type of house where the respondents live
4. Language used at home

This information was sought to answer Research Questions three: *what factors contribute to variance in strength of Minangkabau identity among the girls?*

The final version of the questionnaire resulted from an extensive process of development. The process of development involved three key stages.

#### Stage 1: *First draft*

The first draft of the questionnaire consisted of 21 variables with 146 items. It was recognized that the length and the structure of the questionnaire was likely to induce a degree of fatigue in some respondents with implications for the quality of the data generated by the questionnaire and for overall response rates. It was decided to use a combination of different forms of survey items throughout the questionnaire so that respondents' interest might be maintained and fatigue, or loss of motivation to complete the entire questionnaire, might be ameliorated.

#### Stage 2: *Pilot trial with students*

A pilot study of the questionnaire was conducted with 10 first year senior high school Minangkabau girls, none of whom participated as respondents to the questionnaire in the study proper, in April 1988. The results of the study indicated: first, that the 146-item draft questionnaire was overlong. Second, that the wording of several items was insufficiently clear. The third result was that, the issues raised in the questionnaire items were seen as interesting by the girls. Fourth, the use of a mixture of different styles of items helped to direct respondents' attention to the content and helped to maintain the pilot trial students' interest in providing detailed answers to all items. In response to the experiences of the pilot study the overall length of the questionnaire was reduced to 114 items and several items were reworded to enhance clarity.

### Stage 3: *The review*

Following the pilot study, a version of the students' questionnaire was submitted for a critical review and assessment of its construct validity to the panel of educational researchers at IKIP Padang. The recommendations from the panel were to the effect that the questionnaire's length and the complexity and the similarity of some of the items might well inhibit both the quality and rates of responses. In response to the experts' opinion, the length of the questionnaire was reduced further to 94 items. The questionnaire was developed in Indonesian and an English translation may be found at Appendix I.

### 3.3 Selection of the Research Sites

The population of this study is the first year Minangkabau senior high school girls in *rantau* and *darek* schools in West Sumatra (for meaning of *rantau* and *darek* see the introduction). Three schools were chosen for conducting the study. Two of the schools chosen were at Padang, the provincial capital of West Sumatra. These two schools are SMU2 Padang and SMU11 Padang. Padang is regarded as a *rantau* area by Minangkabau people. Thus, the girls from these two schools were regarded as *rantau* population. The other school chosen was at Sungai Tarab village, in a district called Kabupaten Tanah Datar. This school is SMU Sungai Tarab, Tanah Datar. Kabupaten Tanah Datar is one of the *tigo luhak* (three heartland districts of Minangkabau). Therefore, the girls from this school were regarded as a *darek* population.

The rationale for the selection of these schools was decided by Research Question 3: *what factors are associated with variance in the strength of Minangkabau identity*

*among the girls?* Do *darek* schools (heartland) and *rantau* schools (non-heartland) have an impact on the strength of girls' identity as Minangkabau? Does the socio-economic status have an impact on the strength of girls' identity as Minangkabau? SMU2 Padang was chosen because of its location in *rantau*, in a middle to upper class community, in the central city of Padang. The overwhelming number of the students of SMU2 Padang come from middle class to upper class families. (In this study, the population from SMU2 is called *Rantau 1*). SMU11 Padang was chosen as a socio-economic contrast for SMU2 Padang. As well as SMU2 Padang, the SMU11 is also under the government of Kota Madya Padang, and therefore, this school is still regarded as a city school, but its location is in the outskirts, in the fishermen's area, about 10 kms from the central city of Padang. Most of the students of SMU11 are the children of manual workers (mainly fishermen's families). (In this study, the population from SMU11 is called *Rantau 2*). The third school chosen is SMU Sungai Tarab. This school is located in Tanah Datar district, in the village called Sungai Tarab. The location of Sungai Tarab is about 80 kms from the central city of Padang. The majority of the students of this school come from farmer families. (In this study, the population from this school was called *Darek*). The data of the research were gathered by the researcher alone.

### **3.4 Population and Sample**

The population of this study are first year senior high school Minangkabau girls. In this study a Minangkabau girl is one whose parents identify as Minangkabau, and who was born and grew up in Minangkabau land (West Sumatra). First year (year 10) senior high school students have been chosen as the subjects of this research because they are in the stage of mid-adolescence (15-17 years old) which is associated with heightened awareness of self-identity (Barnes, 1995).

The sample for the study was selected by using a purposive stratified random sampling technique. Purposive sampling was used because the study only deals with Minangkabau girls. Stratification was based on the subjects' classification in terms of school achievement. Achievement was divided into three categories: above average, average, and below average. The criteria to classify the respondents' achievement was based on the year point average (GPA) according to their reports. The stratified sampling was used in order to obtain a more representative sample. The list of the first year Minangkabau student girls from each school and their GPA was given by the school counsellor in each school. The selection was done randomly at each school by the researcher with the help of the school counsellor. Each Minangkabau girl student from each GPA category in each school was given a code number. The number was then written onto a slip of paper and shuffled in a container. The slips were drawn out randomly. About one third of each GPA category were drawn as the sample. The distribution features of the population and sample by schools and by GPA can be seen in Tables 3.1.

Table3.1: Distribution of Population and Sample  
by GPA in the Three Schools

Achievement	SMU2 Padang		SMU11Padang		SMU S.Tarab		Total
	Population	Sample	Population	Sample	Population	Sample	Pop./Sample
Above Average	45 (24%)	17 (8%)	35 (24%)	17 (12%)	33 (24%)	13 (10%)	113/46 (10%)
Average	103 (55%)	37 (20%)	70 (49%)	35 (24%)	66 (49%)	26 (19%)	239/98 (21%)
Below Average	40 (21%)	14 (7%)	38 (27%)	19 (13%)	36 (27%)	15 (11%)	114/48 (10%)
Total	188 (100%)	67 (35%)	143 (100%)	71 (49%)	135 (100%)	54 (40%)	466/192 (41%)

Table 3.1 shows that the total population of Minangkabau first year senior high school girls from the three schools is 466 people, with 188 at SMU2 Padang, 143 at

SMU11 Padang and 135 at SMU Sungai Tarab. The sample drawn from that population, from each GPA category represented, was 192 respondents, with 67 respondents from SMU2 Padang, 71 respondents from SMU11 Padang, and 54 respondents from SMU Sungai Tarab.

### **3.5 Permission to Conduct Research**

The research design described in the previous section required that data be gathered from the students from schools within the provincial education system of West Sumatra. The head of the Department of Education and Culture (DoEC) in West Sumatra required that formal permission be sought prior to the commencement of the research project. Permission was also required from each principal of each school. The three principals assisted in the project by choosing the school counselors to help the researcher in selecting the samples.

### **3.6 Data Analysis**

Data were collected in 1998. One hundred and ninety-two questionnaires were completed in the presence of the researcher. Respondents' responses on the questionnaire were entered into a SPSS 9.0 spreadsheet for quantitative analysis. The use of computer-based quantitative analysis facilitated comparisons between the various sub-groups in the sample and facilitated regression analysis to see the effect of socio-economic background on the respondents' answers. Exploratory analysis of the interval survey data using factor analysis techniques (oblimin rotation) produced factor structures which were not easy to identify. Accordingly the data were analysed using analysis of variance procedures (ANOVA) using Scheffé Post hoc comparison techniques to identify significant comparisons. To analyse categorical

data, Chi-Square techniques were used. The significance adopted for all ANOVA and Chi-Square tests was .05 or better.

Based on factor scores extracted from factor analyses, linear regression analyses were conducted to determine if specific independent variables concerning parental levels of education and types of occupation could account for students' attachment to Minangkabau identity and to Minangkabau ideal for womanhood. The results of the analysis of the data are presented in the three following chapters, and all the calculations for tests can be seen in Appendices II and III.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### BACKGROUND OF THE RESPONDENTS

This chapter will present the background of the respondents. It is divided into four parts. The first part presents the students' background in terms of their ages. The second part presents the family background in terms of parental education. The third part presents the family background in terms of parental occupation, including the correlation between parental education and occupation; and the fourth presents the type of house in which respondents live. This study has chosen to investigate family background through the variables listed above without making any definite claim that such variables can be interpreted as reliable indicators of social class. There are well-established difficulties in the way of measuring social class in Indonesia. These difficulties are caused by the range of social status in the white-collar sector, the size of the informal sector of the economy and by the scale of under employment in Indonesia. Nevertheless, through correlating parental education and occupation, a closer idea of social status can be obtained than merely through examining the variables of occupation and education separately. Therefore in the discussion some inferences about the social class background of the respondents will be drawn based on the combined variables of father's education and occupation.

In the most cases, the unit of analysis in this study is the school. As has been explained in Chapter three (Research Methodology), schools which group the background variables of interest were selected for study: SMU S. Tarab as *Darek*, SMU2 Padang as *Rantau 1* (elite) and SMU11 Padang as *Rantau 2* (low socio-economic). The following analysis will provide for each school, with findings for total population in most cases.

### 4.1 Age

The over whelming number of respondents, 173 (90%) are aged between 16 and 17 years, with only 16 (8%) above and 3 (2%) below those ages.

Figure 4.1 shows that the majority of the *Rantau 1* sample is at the age of 16, while for *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples, the highest percentage is at the age of 17.

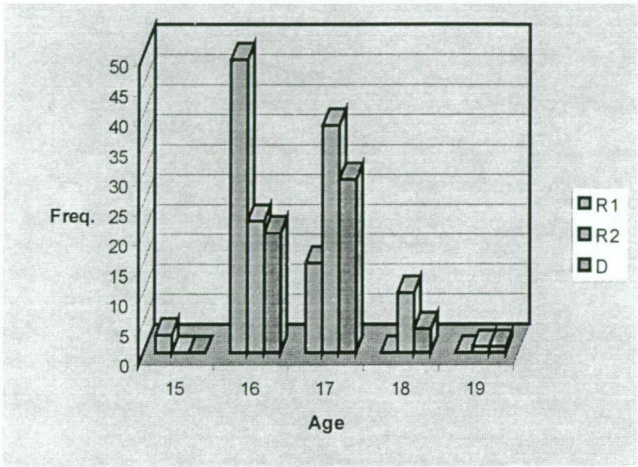


Figure 4.1: Age's Distribution of the Respondents in Percentage  
By *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek*

This age distribution suggest the different academic profile of *Rantau 1*. Pressure on academic performance in *Rantau 1* results in girls' accelerated graduation through earlier grades.

### 4.2 Family Background

This section presents the social characteristics of the respondents through an analysis of key family background variables and describes their similarities and differences.

4.2.1 Parental Education

Parents’ educational level was divided into four categories: highest level of education = primary (level 1), highest level = junior secondary (level 2), highest level = senior secondary (level 3) and highest level = tertiary (level 4). The count for each category for the respondents’ fathers’ and mothers’ educational level is presented below.

4.2.1.1 Fathers’ education

The percentages for the educational level of fathers can be seen in the Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Respondent Fathers’ Level of Education by Schools  
(Percentages shown, N = 192)

Level of Education	Rantau 1		Rantau 2		Darek		Total Number	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Primary	4	6	49	69	23	43	76	39
Junior Secondary	4	6	12	17	18	33	34	18
Senior Secondary	23	34	29	13	10	19	42	22
University	36	54	1	1	3	5	40	21
Total	67	100	71	100	54	100	192	100

Note:     n     = Number of respondents’ fathers in each sample  
          N     = Total number

Across the whole sample, the category with the highest percentage (39%) is fathers whose highest level is primary school (level 1). The next highest percentage represents those whose highest level is senior secondary school (22%), followed by those whose highest level is university (20%). The lowest percentage represents those whose highest level is junior secondary school (18%). Counting senior secondary school and above as an indicator for high levels of education, and the primary and junior secondary as lower levels of education, it can be concluded that almost half of the respondents’ fathers were at the lower level of education (57%). The most striking

aspect of Table 4.1 is the marked difference between *Rantau 1* and the two other schools on fathers' educational levels.

From Table 4.1 it can be seen that the highest percentage (54%) of *Rantau 1* respondents fathers are in educational level 4 (university). The second highest percentage (23%) is at level 3 (senior secondary), followed by 6% at level 2 (junior secondary) and another 6% at level 1 (primary school). Counting university and senior secondary as high levels, this finding indicates that the fathers of *Rantau 1* respondents were mostly at the high level of education (88%).

For *Rantau 2*, however, the direction of fathers' education is the reverse (see Table 4.1 and Figure 4.2). The highest percentage of *Rantau 2* respondents' fathers (69%) is at educational level 1 (primary school). The second highest percentage (17%) is at level 2 (junior secondary school), followed by 13 % at level 3 (senior secondary school). Only 1% of *Rantau 2* fathers I at level 4 (tertiary).

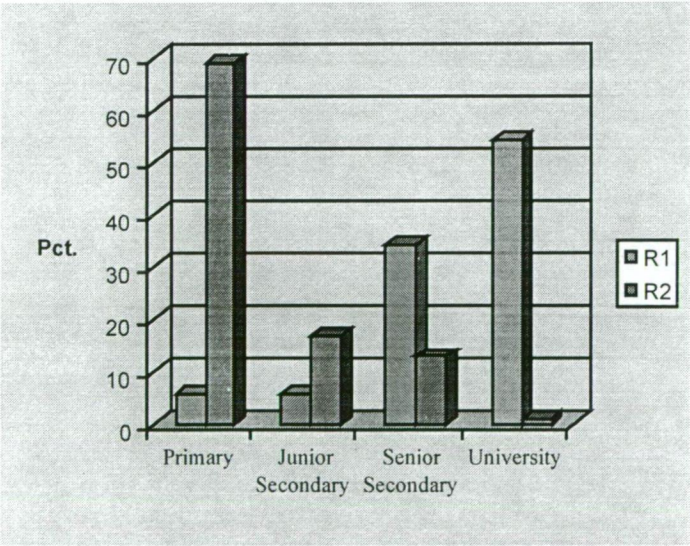


Figure 4.2: Percentage of Respondent Fathers' Educational Level by *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2*



Figure 4.2 above shows the striking difference between *Rantau 1* fathers' and *Rantau 2* fathers' level of education.

Using attendance at senior secondary and above as an indicator for high level of education, it can be concluded that most of the *Rantau 2* respondents' fathers (89%) have not attained a high educational level.

For *Darek* respondents, the highest percentage of fathers (43%) are in the level 1 (primary school). The second highest percentage is 33% at level 2 (secondary school); followed by 19% at level 3 (senior high school). Only 5% of *Darek* fathers are at level 4 (university). Using senior secondary school and above as an indicator for high level of education, Table 4.1 shows that the majority (76%) of *Darek* fathers have not attained a high educational level. The school has broadly the same educational pattern as *Rantau 2*, with *Darek* fathers' level of education slightly higher (see Figure 4.3)

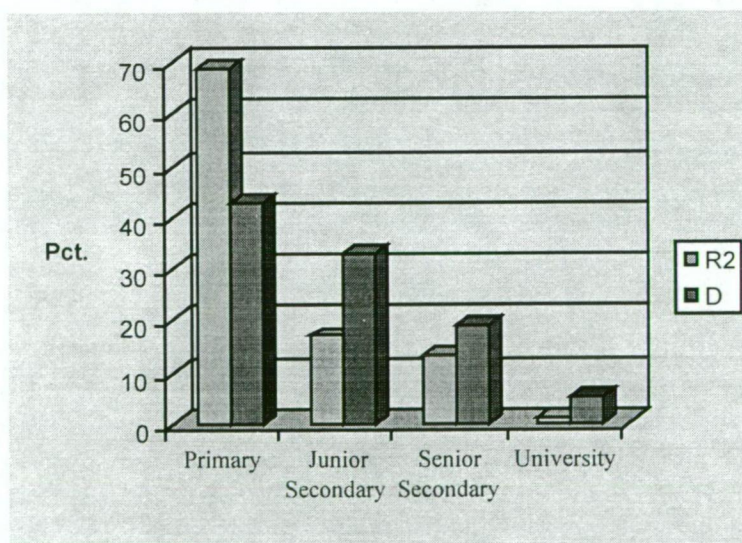


Figure 4.3: Percentage of Respondent Fathers' Educational Level by *Rantau 2* and *Darek*

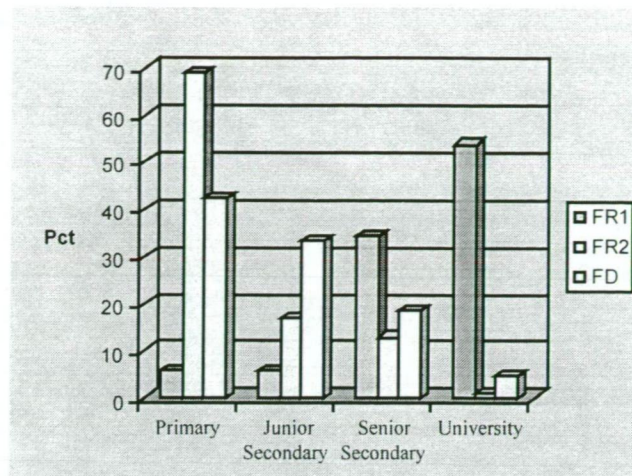


Figure 4.4: Percentage of Respondent Fathers' Educational Level by *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek*

Figure 4.4 shows the difference in education level of *Rantau 1* fathers compared to *Rantau 2* and *Darek* fathers.

#### 4.2.1.2 Mothers' Education

For mothers' educational level, for all respondents, it was found that the category with the highest level of respondents is at educational level 1 (primary school) with 45% (fathers = 39%). The second highest is at level 2 (senior secondary school) with 19% (18% for fathers), followed 19% (21% for fathers) at level 4 (university). The category with the lowest percentage is 17% (22% for fathers) at educational level 3 (senior secondary school) (See Table 4.2 in the next page).

Taking senior secondary school and above as an indicator for high levels and the primary and junior secondary for lower levels of education, then it can be concluded that almost half of the respondents' mothers are at the lower level of education (64%). This percentage is similar to that for the fathers (57%).

Table 4.2: Respondent Mothers' Level of Education by Schools  
(Percentages shown, N = 192)

Education	M. Rantau 1		M. Rantau 2		M. Darek		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Primary	4	6	58	82	24	44	44	44
Junior Secondary	9	13	10	14	17	32	19	19
Senior Secondary	21	31	2	3	11	20	18	18
University	33	49	1	1	2	4	19	19
Total	67	100	71	100	54	100	192	100

Note: n = Number of respondents' mothers in each sample  
N = Total number

However, as grouped by school of the respondents, Table 4.2 shows that there is a marked difference between mothers' educational levels.

From Table 4.2 it can be seen that the highest percentage of *Rantau 1* respondents' mothers are in educational level 4 (49%). The percentage of mothers who have attended senior secondary is 31%, followed by those who have attended junior secondary is 13% and primary is 6%. Taking university and senior secondary as high levels, this finding indicates that the mothers of *Rantau 1* respondents mostly have a high level of education (80%).

For *Rantau 2* respondents, however, the highest percentage of mothers (82%) is at level 1 (primary school). The second highest percentage, 14%, is at level 2 (junior secondary school), followed by 3 % at level 3 (senior secondary school). Only 1% of mothers who are at the level 4 (tertiary) (see Table 4.2).

Using attendance at senior secondary and above as an indicator for high levels of education, it can be concluded that the great majority of the *Rantau 2* respondents' mothers (96%) have not attained a high level of education. Compared to *Rantau 1*



mothers, the level of education of *Rantau 2* mothers is significantly lower (see Figure 4.5 for comparison between *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2* mothers' educational level).

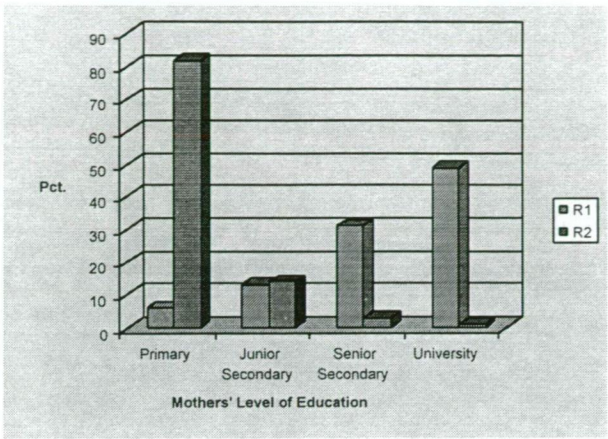


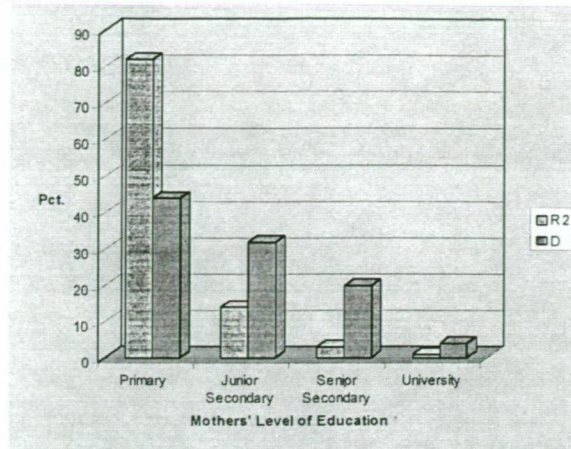
Figure 4.5: Percentage of Respondent Mothers' Educational Level by *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2*

Figure 4.5 shows the striking differences in educational level for respondents at *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2*.

For *Darek* respondents, the highest percentage of mothers is at level 1 (primary school) with 44%. The second highest percentage is 32% at level 2 (secondary school); followed by 20% at level 3 (senior high school). Only 4% of *Darek* mothers are at level 4 (been to or graduate from university) (See Table 4.2).

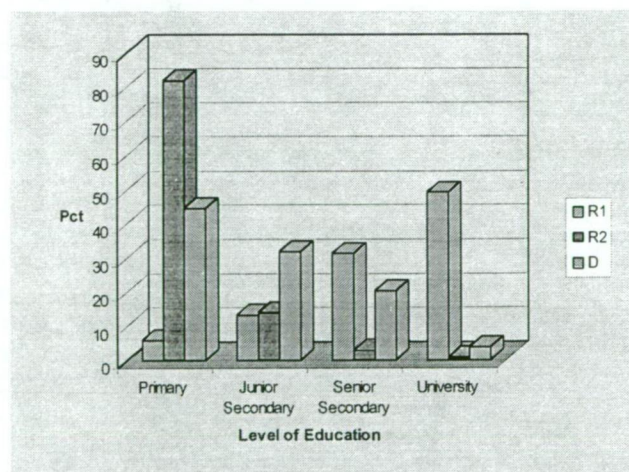
Using attendance of senior secondary and above as an indicator for high levels of education, it can be concluded that majority of the *Darek* respondents' mothers (76%) have not attained a high level of education. The school has broadly the same educational pattern as *Rantau 2*, with *Darek* mothers' level of education slightly higher than *Rantau 2* (See Figure 4.6).



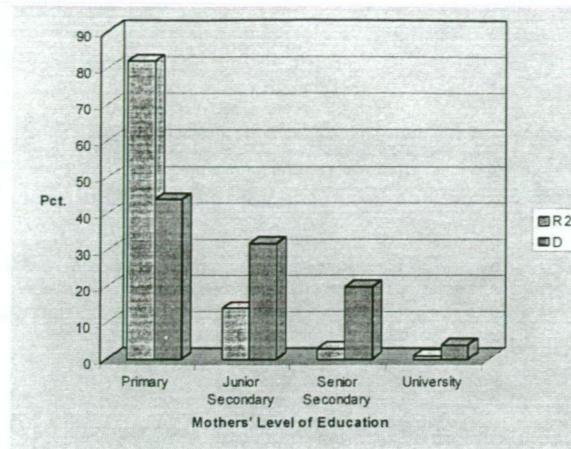


4.6: Percentage of Respondent Mothers' Educational Level by *Rantau 2* and *Darek* Respondents

When *Darek* mothers were compared to *Rantau 1* mothers, the level of education of *Darek* mothers is significantly lower than *Rantau 1* mothers. See Figure 4.7 for the comparison between three schools.

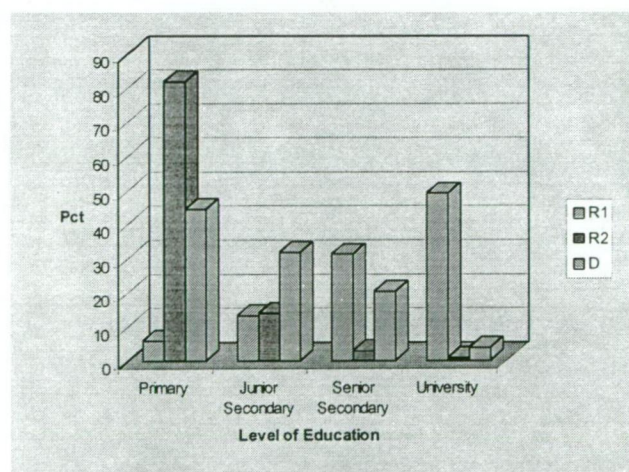


4.7: Percentage of Respondent Mothers' Educational Level by *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2* and *Darek*



4.6: Percentage of Respondent Mothers' Educational Level by *Rantau 2* and *Darek* Respondents

When *Darek* mothers were compared to *Rantau 1* mothers, the level of education of *Darek* mothers is significantly lower than *Rantau 1* mothers. See Figure 4.7 for the comparison between three schools.



4.7: Percentage of Respondent Mothers' Educational Level by *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2* and *Darek*

Figure 4.7 shows the difference in education level of *Rantau 1* mother compared to *Rantau 2* and *Darek* mothers.

In conclusion, the findings on parental education show the same pattern for each parental type. The level of education of *Rantau 1*, both fathers and mothers are much higher than the two other schools. The educational level of *Rantau 1* parents are at the highest rank, *Darek* parents are at the middle and *Rantau 2* parents are at the lowest.

#### **4.2.2 Parental Occupation**

In this study, parents' occupation was classified into five categories. This classification follows census classifications for the economic sector used by the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics (Biro Pusat Statistik, 1998). Thus the census category avoid any categorization of work in terms of social class, and the categories themselves would each cover a range of low waged to highly remunerated work. In broad terms, and mindful of the difficulties stated at the outset of the chapter, a general socio-economic status has been associated with each of the categories where this can be supported, by the writer's knowledge of the social status of different categories of social occupation in Indonesia and by means of other resources and methods. The five categories of occupation in the census are as follows:

1. Self-employed. This category includes farmer, trader, and other unskilled occupation such as drivers, painters. However, it should be observed that this generalization does not exclude the phenomenon of the wealthy farmers some of whom can be found in the area under study. This research did not attempt to develop a measure that would differentiate farmers on the basis of wealth. These types of occupation usually relate to manual work, very small home-based economic activity. It is the lowest socio-economic group in which a large number of Indonesian population would

fall, and the people who have such occupations are more likely to be regarded as working class.

2. Employer. The second category is that of employer. It includes those persons who have their own business with full time or part time employees. The category of employer consists of people regarded as middle class in Indonesia, as elsewhere.
3. Employees in the private sector.
4. Employees in the public sector (public servant), includes all the people who work for the government, such as public school teachers, nurses, army, medical doctors and lecturers. This category of occupation is likely to be dominated by clerical or white-collar workers. The range in status of white-collar workers is wide and this attribute of occupation does not in itself provide a guide to social status.
5. House worker. This category covers persons, usually women, who work at home, but do not participate in the money economy. But in some cases, for example if they living in the city, they may receive goods from their villages which constitute an addition to the family resources. This category includes women whose sole occupation is that of housewife. It is not possible to infer social class status from this category.

#### **4.2.2.1 Fathers' Occupation**

The finding of the analysis of the data on the occupation of all respondents' fathers is presented in Table 4.3 in the next page.



Table 4.3: Respondent Fathers' Occupation in Total  
(Percentages shown, N = 187)

Fathers' Occupation	Total Respondents	
	N	%
Self Employed	115	62
Employer	13	7
Private employee	7	4
Public Servant	51	27
Total Number	187	100

Note: N = Total number

Table 4.3 shows that the highest percentage of fathers in terms of occupation are self-employed (62%); followed by those who are public servant (27%); those who are employers (7%); 4% who are occupied as private employees (See also Figure 4.8).

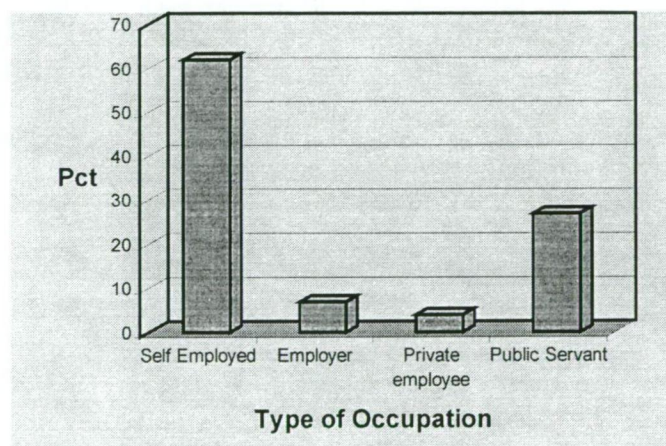


Figure 4.8: Percentage of Total Respondent Fathers' Level of Education and Occupation

However, when each school sample is analyzed separately, the finding reveals differences and similarities between *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek* respondents' fathers (See Table 4.4 and Figure 4.9).

Table 4.4: Respondent Fathers' Occupation by Schools  
(Percentages shown, N = 187)

Fathers' Occupation	<i>Rantau 1</i>		<i>Rantau 2</i>		F. <i>Darek</i>		Total Respondents	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Self Employed	14	21	62	90	39	78	115	62
Employer	9	13	0	0	4	8	13	7
Private Employee	5	8	1	1	1	2	7	4
Public Servant	39	58	6	9	6	12	51	27
Total	67	100	69	100	50	100	187	100

Note: n = Number of respondents' fathers in each sample  
N = Total number

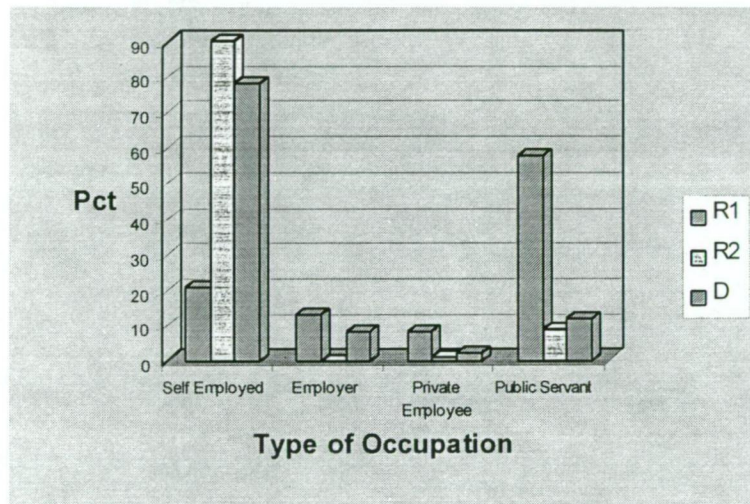


Figure 4.9: Percentage of Respondent Fathers' Occupation  
by *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek*

Table 4.4 and Figure 4.9 show that the main difference between *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek* is that for fathers of *Rantau 2* and *Darek* respondents the highest percentage of fathers are self-employed (89% and 78% respectively). For *Rantau 1* fathers, by contrast, the highest percentage is as public servants with 58%. In contrast, 9 % and 12 % respectively of *Rantau 2* and *Darek* respondents' fathers are public servants. In addition, being an employer produced the third highest percentage

for *Rantau 1* and *Darek* fathers with 13% and 8% respectively. None of *Rantau 2* respondents' fathers are employers.

The one similarity shared by *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek* respondents is that the occupation of private employees are not common for fathers of these respondents. Only 8% of *Rantau 1*, 2% of *Rantau 2* and 2% of *Darek* fathers are private employees (See also Table 4.4 and Figure 4.9).

Combining level of education and occupation provides a way of categorising the respondents by social class which overcomes some of the difficulties of inferring class status from social class alone. Table 4.5 and Figure 4.10 reveal the relationship between type of occupation and level of education of respondents' fathers.

Table 4.5: Respondent Fathers' Level of Education and Occupation  
(Percentages shown, N = 186)

Level of Education	Types of Fathers' Occupation									
	Self-employed		Employer		Private Employee		Public Servant		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Primary	72	39	0	0	0	0	0	0	72	39
Junior Secondary	30	16	0	0	0	0	4	2	34	18
Senior Secondary	13	7	11	6	5	3	11	6	40	21.5
University	0	0	2	1	2	1	36	19	40	21.5
Total	115	62	13	7	7	4	51	27	186	100

Note: n = Number of respondents' fathers in each sample  
N = Total number

Table 4.5 shows that all fathers who have primary level of education are as self-employed. In contrast, almost all fathers who have university level of education are public servants.



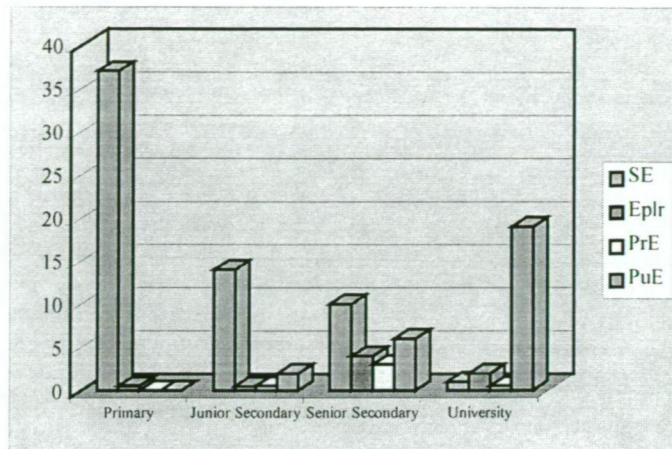


Figure 4.10: Percentage of Total Respondent Fathers' Level of Education and Their Types of Occupation

Note:  
 SE = Self-employed  
 Eplr = Employer  
 PrE = Private employees  
 PuE = Public employees

These findings show that there is a relationship between level of education and type of occupation in our sample. Less educated fathers are self-employed. On the other hand, fathers who had university level are more likely to be occupied as public employees. In fact, Figure 4.10 shows that the percentages of fathers who are self-employed decrease as the level of education increases. In contrast, the percentage of fathers who are public employees increase as the level of education increases. The data does not reveal the relationship between level of education and type of occupation as employers or as private employees since the percentages of them are very small.

The analysis on the relationship between fathers' level of education and occupation within each school can be seen in Figure 4.11 for *Rantau 1*, Figure 4.12 for *Rantau 2* and Figure 4.13 for *Darek*.



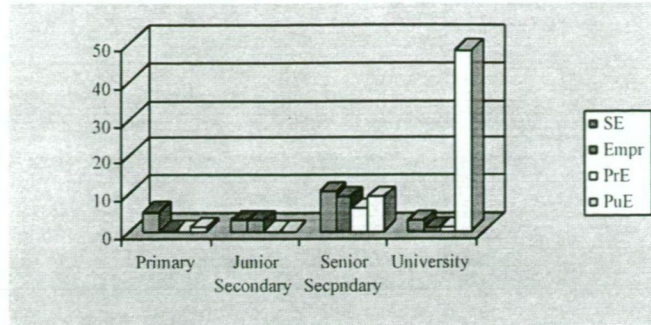


Figure 4.11: Percentage of Respondent Fathers' Level of Education and Their Types of Occupation in *Rantau 1*

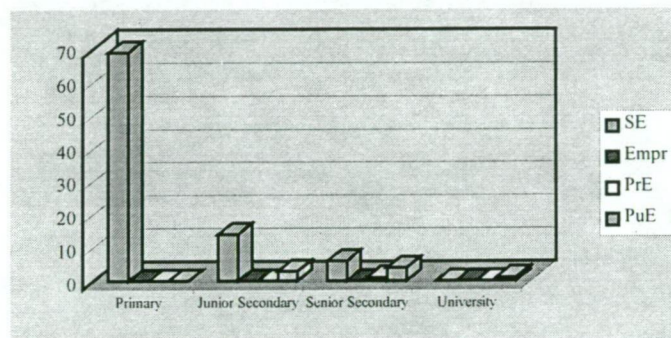


Figure 4.12: Percentage of Respondent Fathers' Level of Education and Their Types of Occupation in *Rantau 2*

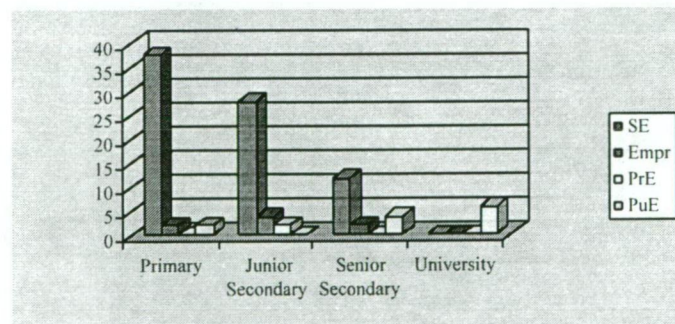


Figure 4.13: Percentage of Respondent Fathers' Level of Education and Their Types of Occupation in *Darek*

Note:  
 SE = Self-employed  
 Empr = Employer  
 PrE = Private Employees  
 PuE = Public Servant

If we take highly educated fathers who are public servants to be middle class, then these figures show well the socio-economic relationship between the schools: *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2* at opposite of the middle class - working class spectrum, *Darek* in a more middling position different from both of the *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2*.

Within the school, Figure 4.11, 4.12 and 4.13 also show that educational levels of fathers do have a connection with the types of occupation. Low educational level of fathers is connected with self-employed and high educational level with public servants.

#### 4.2.2.2 Mothers' Occupation

Across all the school samples, it is found that the highest percentage of mothers are occupied as housewife (63%); followed by those who are self employed (17%), then public servants (16%); then employers (2%) and private employees (2%) (See Table 4.6 and Figure 4.14).

Table 4.6: Respondent Mothers' Occupation in Total  
(Percentages shown, N = 191)

Mothers' Occupation	Total Respondents	
	N	%
Self Employed	32	17
Employer	4	2
Private employee	4	2
Public Servant	31	16
Housewife	120	63
Total Number	191	100

Note: N = Total number

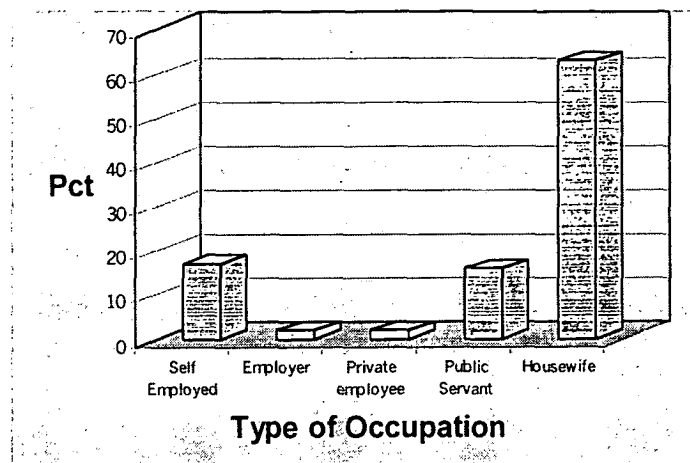


Figure 4.14: Percentage of Respondent Mothers' Occupation in Total

However, when the data for each type of respondents is analyzed by school, the findings reveal some striking differences between *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek* respondents' mothers (See Table 4.7 and Figure 4.15).

Table 4.7: Respondent Mothers' Occupation by Schools  
(Percentages shown, N = 191)

Mothers' Occupation	Mother <i>Rantau 1</i>		Mother <i>Rantau 2</i>		Mother <i>Darek</i>		Total Resp.	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Self Employed	3	4.5	8	11	21	40	32	17
Employer	4	6	0	0	0	0	4	2
Private Employee	3	4.5	1	2	0	0	4	2
Public Servant	28	42	1	2	2	4	31	16
House Wife	29	43	61	85	30	56	120	63
Total	67	100	71	100	53	100	191	100

Note: n = Number of respondents' fathers in each sample  
N = Total number

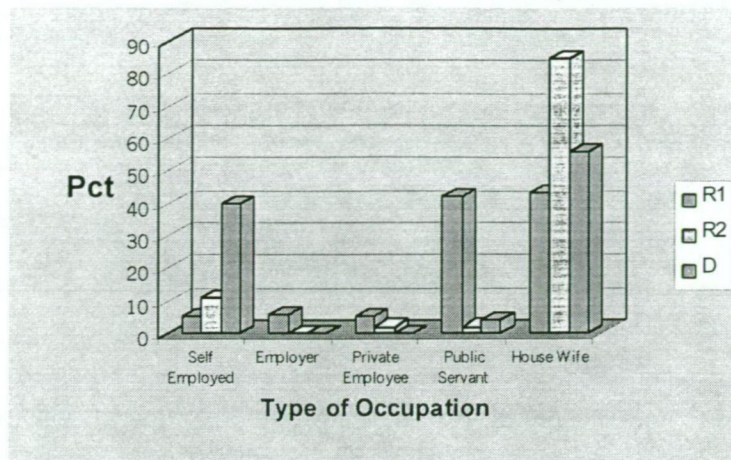


Figure 4.15: Percentage of Respondent Mothers' Occupation  
By Rantau 1, Rantau 2 and Darek

Table 4.7 and Figure 4.15 show three striking differences between the schools. The first is the percentage of *Rantau 2* mothers who are occupied as housewife compared to *Rantau 1* and *Darek* mothers. For *Rantau 2* respondents, the percentage of their mothers who are housewife is very high (86 %), while for *Rantau 1* and *Darek* respondents, the percentage of mothers who are housewife is 43% and 57% respectively. The highest percentage of *Rantau 2* housewife mothers might be connected with their lower educational level and lack of employment opportunities. The second difference is the percentage of *Darek* mothers who are self-employed compared to two other schools. The percentage of *Darek* mothers who are self-employed is 40%, while for *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2* mothers are 4% and 11% respectively. The highest percentage of *Darek* mothers as self-employed might have a relationship with the practice of adat on the role of woman as the person who is responsible for the maintenance of inheritance. The third difference is the percentage of *Rantau 1* mothers who are public servants. The percentage of *Rantau 1* mothers who are public servants is significantly higher (43%) compared to *Rantau 2* and *Darek* mothers (2% and 4% respectively). The higher percentage of *Rantau 1*



mothers who are occupied as public servants might be connected with their high level of education.

Combining occupational type and level of education shows the relationship between mothers' type of occupation and level of education (see Table 4.8 and Figure 4.15).

Table 4.8: Total Mothers' Level of Education and Occupation  
(Percentages shown, N = 191)

Level of Education	Types of Mothers' Occupation											
	Self-employed		Employer		Private Employee		Public Servant		Housewife		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Primary	19	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	56	33.5	63	82
Junior Secondary	7	4	1	.5	1	.5	1	.5	26	14	19	19
Senior Secondary	4	2	1	.5	2	1	7	3	24	11.5	18	18
University	2	1	2	1	1	.5	23	12	7	4	19	19
Total	32	17	4	2	4	2	31	16	120	63	191	100

Note: n = Number of respondents' mothers in each sample  
N = Total number

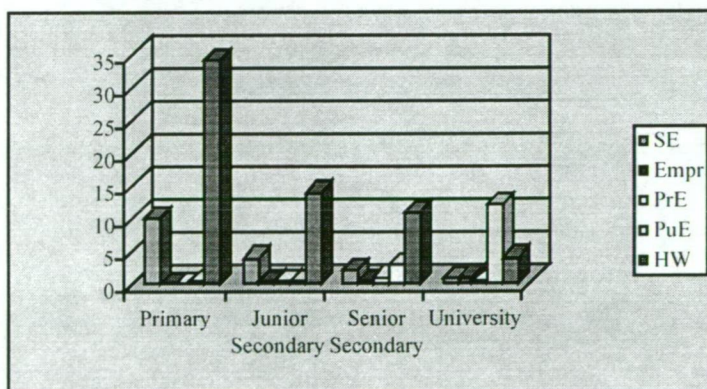


Figure 4.16: Percentage of Total Respondent Mothers' Occupation and Level of Education

Note:  
SE = Self-employed  
Empr = Employer  
PrE = Private Employees  
PuE = Public Servant  
HW = Housewife

Table 4.8 shows that there is a relationship between mothers' type of occupation and level of education. Housewife and self-employed are associated with the primary level of education although less clearly in the case of housewife. Eleven and half percent of housewives had senior secondary level. In contrast, public employment is associated with the university level of education. In fact, there is almost no participant in public employment except for university women. This may indicate more restricted opportunity for women for statused employment, insuring the greater pressure in the *Rantau 1* girls. Figure 4.16 shows that the percentage of mothers occupied as housewife and as self-employed decrease as the level of education increases. In contrast, the percentage of mothers who are public servants increases as the level of education increases. The findings do not reveal the relationship between level of education and type of occupation as employers or as private employees since the percentages of these two categories are very small.

The analysis of the relationship between mothers' level of education and occupation within each school can be seen in Figure 4.17 for *Rantau 1*, Figure 4.18 for *Rantau 2* and Figure 4.19 for *Darek*.

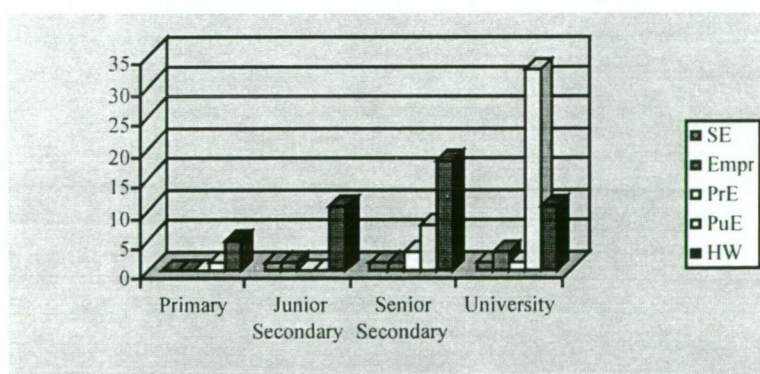


Figure 4.17: Percentage of Respondent Mothers' Type of Occupation and Level of Education in *Rantau 1*



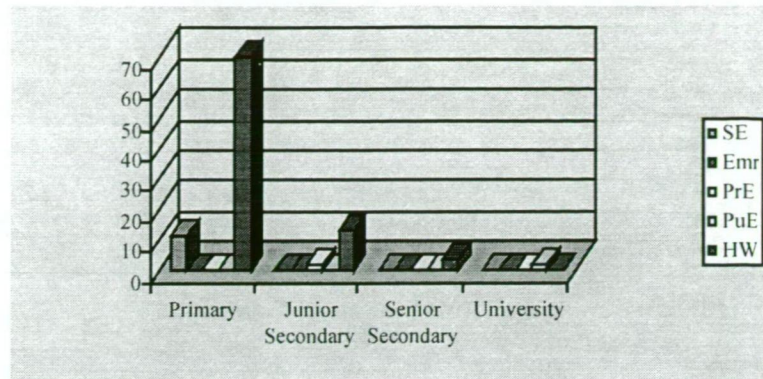


Figure 4.18: Percentage of Respondent Mothers' Type of Occupation and Level of Education in *Rantau 2*

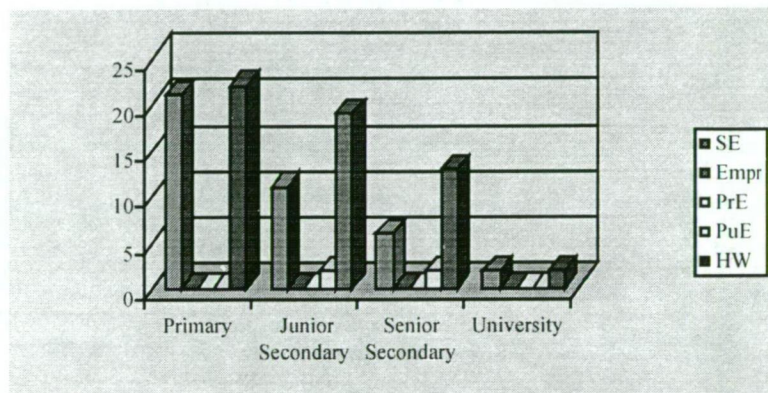


Figure 4.19: Percentage of Respondent Mothers' Type of Occupation and Level of Education in *Darek*

Note:  
 SE = Self-employed  
 Empr = Employer  
 PrE = Private Employees  
 PuE = Public Servants  
 HW = Housewife

## 4.2 Type of the house

Most of the respondents, *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek*, live in regular houses. Only a few (6%) still live in the traditional Minangkabau house, *rumah gadang*. If we look at this 6% break down into each school, 1% of *Rantau 1* respondents live in

*rumah gadang*, 2 % of *Rantau 2* and 15% of *Darek* (see Table 4.9). Although the percentage of *Darek* is higher compared to *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2*, it can be concluded that living together in *rumah gadang* is not common any more among respondents' families.

Table 4.9: *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek* Living in the Regular Houses and *Rumah Gadang* (Percentages shown, N = 192)

Type of house	<i>Rantau 1</i>		<i>Rantau 2</i>		<i>Darek</i>		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Regular house	66	99	69	97	46	85	181	94
<i>Rumah gadang</i>	1	1	2	3	8	15	11	6
Total number	67	100	71	100	54	100	192	100

Note :     n = Number of respondents in each sample  
               N = Total number

## Conclusion

From these findings, it is clear that the school samples differ in the socio-economic background, especially between *Rantau 1* and the two other school samples. *Rantau 1* sample mostly comes from middle to upper class families with high educated parents, while *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples mostly come from lower class families with less educated parents. From these findings also clear that the traditional life style, living in *rumah gadang*, has changed among the respondents' families.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### MINANGKABAU IDENTITY: THE FINDINGS

This section presents the findings of the study as they address the research questions relating to Minangkabau identity: (1) *How strongly do girls retain Minangkabau identity*; and (2) *How strongly does the Minangkabau ideal of womanhood still influence these girls*. This Chapter also presents findings on the analysis of differences between samples, *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek*. The findings of Research Question 3 will be presented in Chapter six.

As has been stated in the discussion on identity in Chapter two, respondents' identity as Minangkabau has been constructed into two parts. The first is respondents' identity as Minangkabau in general and the second is respondents' identity as Minangkabau woman in particular. As Minangkabau in general, girls' identity was attached to two constituent features of Minangkabau identity, differentiating Minangkabau identity from other ethnic groups in Indonesia. The two most distinctive features of Minangkabau are (1) Minangkabau *adaik*, and (2) culture-specific practices in the Minangkabau aesthetic tradition, which I defined in chapter two as a subset of the wider notion of culture. Thus, the first research question in this study, *How strongly do girls retain Minangkabau identity?*, was measured in relation to the strength of acceptance of Minangkabau *adaik*, to the strength of attachment to traditional Minangkabau aesthetic culture. The strength of Minangkabau identity was also taken to be measurable by the strength of attachment to the Minangkabau community. Before presenting the findings, I need to remind the reader of its constituent feature to which they belong.

The discussion of *adaik* has been organised into three constituent cultural institutions in Minangkabau society: (1) the matrilineal relationship, (2) specified social proprieties, and (3) traditional ceremonial. As I have shown in Chapter two, the most important feature of Minangkabau *adaik* is the matrilineal system of descent. In Minangkabau *adaik*, the mother is regarded as a central in day-to-day decision making and in economic responsibility. Mother or daughter is the person responsible for the ancestral properties, which are passed from one generation to the next through the female line. The father, on the other hand, is regarded as a guest (*urang sumando*) in his wife's house. The father has no responsibility in the upkeep of his children but, as a mother's brother (*mamak*), he has responsibilities in the upkeep of his sister's children. He is expected to protect and guide his sister's children. Thus *mamak*, as a brother will play more roles in his sister's house than in the family of his own children.

As can be seen in Chapter two, there are three levels of matrilineal kin groupings. The basic unit is *samandai* (one mother and her children) or sometime it is called *sapariuk* (eat from one rice pot). The second level is *saparuik* (one womb, includes grandmother, daughters and their children). The third level is clan (*suku*) which consists of a cluster of *rumah gadang*, ownership of which has descended through the female line. Minangkabau people are expected to know what *suku* do they belong to. A person will not be regarded as a Minangkabau by others if he/she does not know what *suku* that he/she belongs to. According to Minangkabau *adaik* in relation to the matrilineal system, Minangkabau women are forbidden to marry men from the same *suku*. The ideal marriage according to *adaik* is marriage between children of male and female siblings or as they used to say "marrying" back to *mamak* (mother's brother) or to *bako* (father's sister).

The second aspect of *adaik* is the observance of social proprieties. Minangkabau

*adaik* governs how people should behave in the certain situations, for example between people of different positions, ages, and sex, in family relationships and in social relationships. Being good at *basa-basi* (being polite) is one of the most distinctive aspects of *adaik*. Decorum in clothing is another aspects of *adaik* in relation to the social proprieties.

Another aspect of *adaik* is traditional ceremonial. There are several kinds of Minangkabau ceremonial. The first and the most popular one is wedding ceremonial. Another important *adaik* ceremonial is the appointment of *Datuak* or *Penghulu* (the leader or male spokesman for the *suku*).

A further aspect of Minangkabau identity is the aesthetic traditions of Minangkabau culture. These include language (Minang language), dress, Minang oral discussion (*petatah-petitih*), dance, and music. In the traditional ceremonies such as proposing marriage, weddings and the appointment of *Datuak*, people use *petatah-petitih* in formal conversation. Being good at *petatah-petitih* is important among Minangkabau people.

The final aspect of Minangkabau identity that is considered is the girls' attachment to Minangkabau community. The strength of Minangkabau identity among the girls in relation to attachment to Minangkabau community is measured in relation to the girls' feeling of love for, pride in and sense of responsibility for Minangkabau land, people and products.

As Minangkabau woman in particular, girls' identity was attached to the Minangkabau ideal construct of womanhood. According to Minangkabau *adaik*, Minangkabau woman holds three important roles. First, the woman is regarded as the person who is responsible for the continuity of the line. Secondly, the woman is regarded as a central pillar of the house by which is meant that she is most

responsible for the transmission of the psychological and spiritual well-being of the family, for day-to-day decision-making, and for the on going functioning of the family. Finally, Minangkabau women are expected to have “motherly” features – to be wise, hard working, leading and strong, but also caring, soft and modest.

The research question 2, *How strongly does the Minangkabau ideal construct of women still influence these girls?*, was measured in relation to the strength of acceptance of the ideal roles of Minangkabau woman and to the strength of acceptance of the ideal characteristics of Minangkabau woman.

The levels of strength of Minangkabau identity – both general and gendered – were measured by using measures such as: “importance of”, “attachment to”, “strength of”, “support for”, “frequency of” and “closeness to”. An attempt is made to control for questionnaire effects – such as respondents endorsing propositions perceived to be ones that have social approval – by including questions which would allow us to compare expressed commitment with the actual practice. The findings of the analysis of the data are presented in the successive sections of this chapter.

## **5.1 Findings of Research Question 1: *How strongly do girls retain Minangkabau identity?***

### **5.1.1 Minangkabau *Adaik***

The investigation of the strength of respondents’ orientation to Minangkabau *adaik* was organized by five variables each constituted by a cluster of items. The first variable is concerned with the attitudes towards the importance of *adaik* generally. The second is concerned with the importance of specific aspects of *adaik*. The third is concerned with the acceptance of the practice of the matrilineal system. The fourth is concerned with the respondents’ attachment to Minangkabau kinship

relations; and the fifth is concerned with the practice of good manners according to *adaik* in respondents' lives.

5.1.1.1 The Importance of *Adaik* and Knowing of *Adaik*

The importance of *adaik* and knowing *adaik* was investigated by questions with a 4-point Likert scale: “very important = 4”, “important = 3”, “not really important = 2” and “not important = 1”. The question was ‘as Minangkabau, how important are *adaik* Minangkabau and knowing *adaik* Minangkabau in your daily life?’ Mean responses on the items were calculated. The results can be seen below in able 5.1.

As Table 5.1 shows, the mean score (MS) across all respondents on ‘the importance of *adaik* in their lives’ is 3.78 and the mean score for ‘the importance of knowing *adaik*’ is 3.66. These scores are close to 4 (“very important”). This indicates that across all the school samples, Minangkabau *adaik* and knowing *adaik* is very important.

Table 5. 1: Mean Scores of the Respondents on the Importance of *Adaik* and Knowing *Adaik*

How important are these items in your life as Minangkabau?	<i>Rantau 1</i>	<i>Rantau 2</i>	<i>Darek</i>	Total Respondents
	MS	MS	MS	MS
Knowing Minangkabau <i>adaik</i>	3.45	3.75	3.81	3.66
<i>Adaik</i> in daily life	3.73	3.75	3.87	3.78

When the data from each sample were examined, the mean score for each item is almost similar between samples, except the mean score for the item ‘knowing *adaik* Minangkabau’ is lower for *Rantau 1* sample. For this item, the mean score for *Rantau 1* sample is 3.45 (between 3 and 4), while for *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample are 3.75 and 3.81 (close to 4) (see Table 5.1). The parametric one-way ANOVA on

these two items shows only the importance of ‘knowing Minangkabau *adaik*’ had a significant F value at .000 level of probability, while for the importance of ‘*adaik* Minangkabau in daily life’ has no significant F value [see Test 1 Appendix II and Table 5.1 (a)].

Table 5.1 (a): ANOVA on the Importance of *Adaik* and Knowing *Adaik*

Items	N	Mean	SD	F	Level of Probability
Knowing <i>adaik</i> Minangkabau	192	3.66	0.47	11.99*	p ≤ .000
<i>Adaik</i> Minangkabau in daily life	192	3.78	0.43	1.84	p ≤ .16

Scheffé Post-hoc comparisons on this item, shows that there are significant differences in mean scores between the *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2* at .001 level of probability and between *Rantau 1* and *Darek* at .000 level of probability. [see Test 1 Appendix II and Tables 5.1 (b)]. There is no significant difference in mean scores between *Rantau 2* and *Darek* [see Test 1 Appendix II and Tables 5.1 (b)]. The mean score of the *Rantau 1* sample is significantly lower than the mean score of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples, while the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample are similar.

Table 5.1 (b): Scheffé Post-hoc Comparisons on the Importance of *Adaik* and Knowing *Adaik*  
(The asterisks in this and subsequent tables denote statistically significant results)

Items	Schools	Mean Difference	Level of Probability
Knowing <i>adaik</i> Minangkabau	R1 x R2	-.30*	p ≤ .001
	R1 x D	-.37*	p ≤ .000
	R2 x D	.08	p ≤ .70
The importance of <i>adaik</i> in daily life	R1 x R2	-0.12	p ≤ .28
	R1 x D	-0.14	p ≤ .21
	R2 x D	.078	p ≤ .98

From these findings, it can be concluded that the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples differ significantly from the *Rantau 1* sample in their higher level of identification of the important of knowing *adaik* Minangkabau, while *Rantau 2* and *Darek* appear to be similar.

### 5.1.1.2 Specific Aspects of *Adaik*

In this variable, the importance of aspects of *adaik* was investigated in relation to the items in the question cluster in Table 5.2. A dichotomous scale: “important” and “not important” was used to measure this variable. Frequencies on each of these items were analysed by Chi-Square to see if there was any significant difference between the population from which the samples were drawn. The results of the analysis of the data are presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Respondents’ Responses on the Aspects of *Adaik* that are Important in Daily Life  
(Percentages shown, N = 192)

Which aspect of Minangkabau <i>adaik</i> do you think is important in your life?	<i>Rantau 1</i>		<i>Rantau 2</i>		<i>Darek</i>		Total Resp.	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Good manners according to <i>adaik</i>	60	89	64	90	54	100	178	93
Role of daughter according to <i>adaik</i>	37	55	57	80	40	74	134	70
Role of mother according to <i>adaik</i>	31	46	49	69	38	70	118	61
Wedding ceremonial	24	36	46	65	24	44	94	49
Other <i>adaik</i> ceremonial (appointment of <i>Penghulu/Datuak</i> )	14	21	40	56	25	46	79	41
Marriage according to <i>adaik</i>	8	12	13	18	5	9	26	14
Role of <i>mamak</i> according to <i>adaik</i>	5	7	19	27	19	35	51	22
Role of father as <i>urang sumando</i>	2	3	7	10	8	15	17	9
Living in <i>rumah gadang</i>	0	0	3	5	4	7	7	4

Table 5.2 shows that only a few aspects of Minangkabau *adaik* are identified as important by more than 50% of all respondents. Aspect of *adaik* that are regarded as

“important” by most of the respondents is ‘good manners according to *adaik*’ (93%). ‘Role of daughter according to *adaik*’ and ‘role of mother according to *adaik*’ are regarded as “important” by the majority (70% and 62% respectively) of all respondents. ‘Wedding ceremonial’ is regarded as “important” by less than half (48%) of all respondents. The other items: ‘Marriage according to *adaik*’, ‘role of *mamak* according to *adaik*’ ‘role of father as *urang sumando*’, and ‘living together in *rumah gadang*’, are regarded as “important” by not more than 22% of all respondents.

The analysis of the responses on the *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2*, and *Darek* sample, shows three different patterns of alignment between the samples. On some items, all schools are closer together; on others, *Rantau 2* and *Darek* are similar and differed from *Rantau 1* respondents; and there is one item that has brought the *Rantau 1* and *Darek* samples together and differed from *Rantau 2* (see Table 5.2).

All samples are close together on the item ‘good manners according to *adaik*’. Most of the respondents, *Rantau 1* (89%), *Rantau 2* (90%) and *Darek* (100) say that good manner according to *adaik* is “important” in their daily lives. Other items that these three samples have in common though in a negative direction are ‘role of father as *urang sumando*’, ‘marriage according to *adaik*’ and ‘living together in *rumah gadang*’. Table 5.2 shows that these three items are regarded as “not important” by most of the respondents from these three samples.

Items on which the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples are similar and differ from *Rantau 1* respondents is ‘role of *mamak* according to *adaik*’, ‘role of daughter according to *adaik*’, ‘role of mother according to *adaik*’ and ‘other *adaik* ceremonial’. For the item ‘role of *mamak* according to *adaik*’, the proportion of *Rantau 2* and *Darek* respondents who said “important” is 27% and 35% respectively, while *Rantau 1* respondents who said “important” is only 7%. For the item ‘role of daughter



according to *adaik*', the proportion of *Rantau 2* and *Darek* respondents who say "important" is 80% and 74% respectively, while *Rantau 1* respondents who say "important" is 55%. For the item 'role of mother according to *adaik*', the proportion of *Rantau 1* respondents is 46%, while the proportion of *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples is 69% and 70% respectively. Regarding the item 'other *adaik* ceremonial', the proportion of *Rantau 1* respondents who said "important" is 21%, while the proportion of *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples is 56% and 46% respectively. These are big differences between *Rantau 2* and *Darek* and *Rantau 1* samples on these items, and to test where the difference is significant, Chi-Square tests with 2 x 2 table were used (see Tests 2 to 13 Appendix II). The summary can be seen below.

Table 5.2 (a): Chi-square Analysis on the Importance of Roles of *Mamak*, Daughter, Mother According to *Adaik* and other *Adaik* Ceremonial

Variables	Comparison	$\chi^2$	Probability Level	Comment
Roles of <i>Mamak</i> in his sister's house	R1 x R2	8.93*	$p \leq .003$	Significant
	R1 x D	14.45*	$p \leq .000$	Significant
	R2 x D	1.03	$p \leq .31$	Not significant
Roles of daughter according to <i>adaik</i>	R1 x R2	9.96*	$p \leq .002$	Significant
	R1 x D	4.59*	$p \leq .03$	Significant
	R2 x D	.68	$p \leq .41$	Not significant
Roles of mother according to <i>adaik</i>	R1 x R2	7.32*	$p \leq .007$	Significant
	R1 x D	7.09*	$p \leq .008$	Significant
	R2 x D	.027	$p \leq .87$	Not significant
Other <i>adaik</i> ceremonial	R1 x R2	18.18*	$p \leq .000$	Significant
	R1 x D	8.83*	$p \leq .003$	Significant
	R2 x D	.124	$p \leq .27$	Not significant

Table 5.2 (a) shows that on the item 'role of *mamak* according to *adaik*', *Rantau 1* differ significantly from *Rantau 2* at .003 and from *Darek* at .000 level of probability. On the 'role of daughter according to *adaik*', *Rantau 1* is significantly different from *Rantau 2* at .002 and from *Darek* sample at .03 level of probability. On the item 'roles of mother according to *adaik*', *Rantau 1* is significantly different

from the *Rantau 2* sample at .002 level and from the *Darek* sample at .008 level of probability. On the item ‘*adaik* ceremonial’, the *Rantau 1* sample is significantly different from the *Rantau 2* sample at .000 level and from *Darek* at .003 level of probability. There is no significant difference between *Rantau 2* and *Darek* on each of those items.

From these findings, it can be concluded that the proportion of the *Rantau 1* sample is significantly lower than the proportion of *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples in saying that the role of *mamak* according to *adaik*, role of daughter according to *adaik*, role of mother according to *adaik*, and *adaik* ceremonial are important in their daily lives.

An item on which *Rantau 1* and *Darek* respondents are similar and differ from *Rantau 2* is ‘wedding ceremonial’. For this item, the proportion of *Rantau 1* and *Darek* respondents who said “important” is 36% and 44% respectively, while *Rantau 2* respondents who said “important” is 65%. This is an interesting response in view of the fact that the greater commitment to the traditional position on this variable is not the *Darek* sample but *Rantau 2* sample. To test whether *Rantau 2* is statistically significantly different from *Rantau 1* and *Darek*, Chi-Square test with 2 x 2 table was used (see Tests 14 - 16 Appendix II). The results are summarised in Table 5.2 (b).

Table 5.2 (b): Chi-square Analysis on the Importance of Wedding Ceremonial

Item	Comparison	$\chi^2$	Probability Level	Comment
Wedding ceremonial	R1 x R2	11.57*	$p \leq .001$	Significant
	D x R2	6.11*	$p \leq .02$	Significant
	R1 x D	.93	$p \leq .335$	No significant

Table 5.2 (b) shows that *Rantau 1* sample is different from *Rantau 2* sample at .001 level of probability, and *Darek* sample is different from *Rantau 2* sample at .02 level of probability. This means that the proportion of the *Rantau 2* sample is significantly higher than the proportion of *Rantau 1* and *Darek* samples in *saying* that wedding ceremonial is “important” in daily life. There is no significant difference between the *Rantau 1* and the *Darek* sample on this item.

### 5.1.1.3 Support for the Practices of the Matrilineal System

In this variable, respondents’ agreement with the practice of the matrilineal system was investigated in relation to the items in the question cluster in Table 5.3. A 4-point Likert scale: “disagree = 1”, “not really agree = 2”, “agree = 3” and “strongly agree = 4” was used to measure this variable. The results can be seen in Table 5.3.

Table5.3: Mean Score of the Respondents’ Support for the Practice of Matrilineal System

How agreeable are you to the items below?	<i>Rantau 1</i>	<i>Rantau 2</i>	<i>Darek</i>	Total Resp.
	MS	MS	MS	MS
Mother or daughter is the person responsible for maintaining inheritance	2.55	3.31	3.41	3.07
Mother is the person most responsible for family income	1.39	2.97	2.91	2.40
Mother is the person who should decide what is best for family	1.51	2.61	2.76	2.29
Marriage will be arranged by mother and <i>mamak</i>	1.13	1.18	1.20	1.17
Marriage back to <i>bako</i> or <i>mamak</i>	1.10	1.23	1.24	1.19
Husband is only a guest ( <i>urang sumando</i> ) in the house	1.03	1.11	1.15	1.09
Mother’s brother will play more roles than husband in future family	1.03	1.13	1.15	1.10

Table 5.3 shows that the item ‘mother or daughter is responsible for maintaining inheritance’ has the highest mean score (MS) across the samples. The mean score for this item is around three. Items ‘mother is the person most responsible for family income’, and ‘mother is the person who should decided what is best for the family’,

have the second highest mean score, with the mean score around two. Items 'Marriage will be arranged by mother and *mamak*', 'husband is only a guest (*urang sumando*) in the house', 'marriage back to *bako* or *mamak*' and 'mother's brother will play more roles than husband in future family' are the lowest with the mean score around one.

When the data from three samples were analysed separately, the mean score on each item for the three schools shows two different patterns. On some items, all schools are closer together; on others, *Rantau 2* and *Darek* are similar and differed from *Rantau 1* (see Tables 5.3).

Common to all samples – in a negative direction – are the items 'marriage will be arranged by mother and *mamak*', 'husband is only a guest (*urang sumando*) in the house', 'marriage back to *bako* or *mamak*' and 'mother's brother will play more roles than husband'. For these items, the mean score are close to one (disagree). This indicates that the level of support for the practice of these items of matrilineal system are very low across all samples.

Items on which *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample are closer together and differ from *Rantau 1* sample is 'mother or daughter is responsible for maintaining inheritance', 'mother is the person most responsible for family income' and 'mother is the person who should decide what is best for the family' (see Table 5.3). For these three items, the mean scores for *Rantau 1* are lower than the mean scores for *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample. The mean score for *Rantau 1* on the item 'mother or daughter is the person responsible for maintaining inheritance' is 2.55, while for *Rantau 2* and *Darek* is 3.31 and 3.41 respectively. For the items 'mother is the person most responsible for family income', the mean score for *Rantau 1* is 1.39, while for *Rantau 2* is 2.97 and for *Darek* is 2.91. For the item 'mother is the person who should decide what is best for the family', the mean score for *Rantau 1* is 1.51, while for *Rantau 2* is 2.61 and for *Darek* is 2.76.

The parametric one-way ANOVA on the items addressing the respondents’ support for the practice of matrilineal system shows that three items (‘mother is the person responsible for maintaining inheritance’, ‘mother is the person most responsible for family income’ and ‘mother is the person who should decide what is best for the family’) have significant F values. It means that the three samples differ significantly in mean scores on these three items. There are no significant differences in mean scores among samples on the other items [see Test 17 Appendix II and Table 5.3 (a)].

Table 5.3 (a): ANOVA on the Respondents’ Support for the Practices of Matrilineal System

Items	N	Mean	SD	F	Level of Probability
Mother is the person responsible for maintaining inheritance	192	3.07	.94	18.9*	$p \leq .000$
Mother is the person most responsible for family income	192	2.4	1.17	63.9*	$p \leq .000$
Mother is the person who should decide what is best for family	192	2.27	1.06	36.9*	$p \leq .000$
Marriage will be arranged by mother and <i>mamak</i>	192	1.17	.5	.32	$p \leq .73$
Marriage back to <i>bako</i> or <i>mamak</i>	192	1.19	.53	1.29	$p \leq .28$
Husband is only guest ( <i>urang sumando</i> ) in the house	192	1.12	.41	1.98	$p \leq .14$
Mother’s brother will play more roles than husband in future family	192	1.12	.47	1.79	$p \leq .17$

Scheffé post-hoc comparisons on these three items reveal that there are significant differences between the mean scores of the *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2* sample and *Rantau 1* and *Darek* sample at .000 level of probability. The mean scores of the *Rantau 1* sample on the items ‘mother is the person responsible for maintaining inheritance’, ‘mother is the person most responsible for family income’ and ‘mother is the person who should decide what is best for the family’ are significantly lower than the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples [see Test 17 Appendix II and Tables 5.3 (b)]. There are no significant differences in mean scores between *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples.

Table 5.3 (b): Scheffé Post-hoc Comparisons on the Support for the Practices of Matrilineal System

Items	Schools	Mean Difference	Level of Significance
Mother is the person responsible for maintaining inheritance	R1 x R2	-.76*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-.86*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	.097	$p \leq .82$
Mother is the person most responsible for family income	R1 x R2	-1.58*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-1.52*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	.064	$p \leq .93$
Mother is the person who should decide what is best for family	R1 x R2	-1.10*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-1.25*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	-.15	$p \leq .64$

From these findings, it can be concluded that there are no differences between samples on their level of support for the practice of matrilineal system on the items 'marriage will be arranged by mother and *mamak*', 'marriage back to *bako* and *mamak*', 'husband is only a guest in the house' and 'mother's brother will play more roles than husband in the family. All samples show lower mean scores for these items. However, the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples differ significantly from the *Rantau 1* sample in their level of support for the practice of matrilineal system in the items 'mother or daughter is the person responsible for maintaining inheritance', 'mother is the person most responsible for family income' and 'mother is the person who should decide what is best for the family'. The *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples show a significantly higher level of support for the practice of these three items compared to the *Rantau 1* sample.

To check respondents' attitudes towards the practice of the Minangkabau matrilineal system, respondents were questioned about the extent to which they agreed with the idea of father as the person most responsible for family income. The result can be seen in Table 5.3 (c) below.

Table5.3 (c): Mean Score of the Respondents' Support for the Practice of  
 Father as the Person most Responsible for Family Income

How far do you agree with this item?	<i>Rantau1</i>	<i>Rantau2</i>	<i>Darek</i>	Total Resp.
	MS	MS	MS	MS
Father is the person most responsible for family income	3.72	3.63	3.59	3.65

From Table 5.3 (c), it can be seen that the girls across all three schools have shown a high average score on the question of how much they support the idea of father as the person most responsible for family income. This possibly indicates their expressed support of the practice of a matriarchy cohabits with a more patriarchal idea of the role of the father as breadwinner.

#### 5.1.1.4 Kinship Relationship

There are three kinship levels in the Minangkabau matrilineal system. The first level is *samandai*, which is a kinship unit composed by the mother and her children. The second level is *saparuik*, which is from one womb and refers to one woman plus the children of her daughters. The person who is responsible for the upkeep of *saparuik* is *mamak*. The third level is the *suku* or clan, which is led by *Datuak* or *Penghulu*.

In this study, Minangkabau kinship variables were investigated in relation to the feeling of closeness to mother, to *mamak* (mother’s brothers), to *etek* (mother’s sisters), to father and to *bako* (father’s sister), and to the importance of knowing one’s clan (*suku*). In relation to the feeling of closeness to mother, father, *mamak*, *etek* and *bako*, a 5 point Likert scale: “very close = 5”, “close = 4”, “quite close = 3”, “not really close = 2”, and “not close = 1” were used to measure those feelings. (The question was: “how close do you feel to your mother, father, *mamak*, *etek* and *bako*?”). In regard to the respondents’ relationship to the clan, respondents were tested on the item ‘how important is it to you to know which particular clan you

belong to?’. A 4-point Likert scale: “very important = 4”, “important = 3”, “not really important = 2” and “not important = 1” were used to measure this variable. The findings for each of these variables can be seen below.

**5.1.1.4.1 Feeling of Closeness to the First and Second Kinship Levels.**

The mean scores of the items in this cluster were calculated, and the results are presented in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Mean Scores of the Respondents’ Feelings of Closeness to Kinship

How close do you feel to the person below?	<i>Rantau 1</i>	<i>Rantau 2</i>	<i>Darek</i>	Total Resp
	MS	MS	MS	MS
Mother	4.90	4.82	4.85	4.85
Father	4.69	4.55	4.50	4.58
<i>Etek</i>	3.30	3.66	3.93	3.61
<i>Mamak</i>	3.16	3.61	3.72	3.48
<i>Bako</i>	3.16	3.31	3.20	3.23

Table 5.4 shows that feeling of closeness to mother has the highest mean score, followed by father, *etek*, *mamak* and *bako*. If we look at the mean scores across the sample, the mean score for mother and father are around five (very close), and for *etek*, *mamak* and *bako* are around three (quite close). The mean score for each item on each sample is almost similar except for the two items where *Rantau 1* sample is lower than *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples. These items are feeling of closeness to *etek* and to *mamak* (see Table 5.4), indicating that *Rantau 2* and *Darek* respondents felt closer to their *etek* and *mamak* compared to *Rantau 1* respondents.

The parametric one-way ANOVA on the respondents’ feelings of closeness to kinship shows only two items have significant F values [see test 18 Appendix II and Table 5.4 (a)]. These items are feelings of closeness to *etek* and to *mamak*. The F



value for feelings of closeness to *etek* is significant at .001 level of probability, and F value for feelings of closeness to *mamak* is significant at .004 level of probability [see Table 5.4 (a)]. It means that the three samples differ significantly in mean scores in feelings of closeness to *etek* and to *mamak*. There are no significance F values found for other items.

Table 5.4 (a): ANOVA on the Feeling of Closeness to Kinship

Items	N	Mean	SD	F	Level of Probability
Mother	192	4.85	0.40	0.68	$p \leq .51$
Father	192	4.58	0.80	0.91	$p \leq .40$
<i>Etek</i>	192	3.61	0.95	7.15*	$p \leq .001$
<i>Mamak</i>	192	3.48	1.00	5.79*	$p \leq .004$
<i>Bako</i>	192	3.23	1.01	0.38	$p \leq .69$

The Scheffé Post-hoc comparisons on these two items (feelings of closeness to *etek* and to *mamak*) show significant differences in mean scores between *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2* sample and between *Rantau 1* and *Darek* sample [see test 18 Appendix II and Table 5.4 (b)].

Table 5.4 (b): Scheffé Post-hoc Comparisons on the Feeling of Closeness to Kinship

Items	Schools	Mean Difference	Level of Probability
<i>Etek</i>	R1 x R2	-.45*	$p \leq .02$
	R1 x D	-.63*	$p \leq .001$
	R2 x D	.18	$p \leq .56$
<i>Mamak</i>	R1 x R2	-.44*	$p \leq .03$
	R1 x D	-.56*	$p \leq .008$
	R2 x D	.12	$p \leq .80$

From Table 5.4 (b) it can be seen that the mean scores of the *Rantau 1* sample is significantly different from the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* (.02 level of probability) and from *Darek* sample (.001 level of probability). On the feelings of closeness to *mamak*, the difference between the *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2* is significant at .03 level of probability, and between the *Rantau 1* and *Darek* is significant at .008

level of probability. There are no significant differences in mean scores between the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples on these items.

From these findings it can be concluded that there are no differences among the mean scores of the respondents on their feeling of closeness to mother, to father and to *bako*. However, the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample differ significantly from *Rantau 1* in their feeling of closeness to *etek* and *mamak*, with significantly lower feeling of closeness at *Rantau 1*.

**5.1.1.4.2 The Importance of *Suku* or Clan**

The third level of Minangkabau kinship system is *suku* or clan. Knowing what *suku* or clan someone belongs to is important for Minangkabau people. The finding of the importance of knowing what *suku* one belongs to was measured on a 4-point scale: "very important = 4", "important = 3", "not really important = 2", and "not important = 1". The Mean score of this variable was calculated. The result can be seen in Table 5.5 below.

Table 5.5: Mean Score of Respondents for Whom *Suku* is Important

How important it is for you to know what <i>suku</i> you belong to?	<i>Rantau 1</i>	<i>Rantau 2</i>	<i>Darek</i>	Total Respond.
	MS	MS	MS	MS
<i>Suku</i> (clan)	1.96	2.66	2.74	2.44

Table 5.5 shows that the mean score for all respondents on the importance of knowing what *suku* one belongs to is 2.44 (between "not really important" and "important"). However, once the data from three samples were analysed separately, *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek*, some differences occurred. The mean score for the *Rantau 1* is very much lower compared to the *Rantau 2* and *Darek*. For *Rantau 1*, the mean score is 1.95, while for *Rantau 2* and *Darek* is 2.66 and 2.74 respectively.

These scores indicate that knowing what *suku* one belongs to is regarded as not really important among the *Rantau 1* respondents, but it is still regarded as quite important among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* respondents. The parametric one-way ANOVA shows a significant difference in mean scores between the samples at .000 level of probability on this variable [see Test 18 Appendix II and Table 5.5 (a)].

Table 5.5 (a): ANOVA on the Importance of Knowing One's *Suku*

Variable	N	Mean	SD	F	Level of Probability
<i>Suku</i>	192	2.44	1.03	12.87*	$p \leq .000$

The Scheffé Post-hoc comparisons show significant differences in mean scores between the *Rantau 1* compared to the two other schools at .000 level of probability for both [see Test 19 Appendix II and Table 5.5 (b)]. There is no significant difference in mean scores between the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples [see Test 19 Appendix II and Table 5.5 (b)].

Table 5.5 (b): Scheffé Post-hoc comparisons on the Importance of Knowing One's *Suku*

Variable	Schools	Mean Difference	Level of Probability
<i>Suku</i>	R1 x R2	-0.71*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-0.79*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	0.08	$p \leq .90$

From these findings it can be concluded that the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* respondents differ significantly from *Rantau 1* in their level of responses to the importance of knowing what *suku* one's belongs to with the lower level at the *Rantau 1*.

5.1.1.5 Attitudes Towards the Importance of Conforming Behaving to *Adaik*

In this cluster, respondents’ attitudes towards the importance of conforming behaving to *adaik* was investigated in relation to the items in the question cluster in Table 5.6. A 4-point Likert scale: “not important = 1”, “not really important = 2”, “important = 3” and “very important = 4” was used to measure these variables. Mean responses were calculated, and the results are presented in Tables 5.6 below.

Table 5.6: Mean Scores of Respondents’ Attitudes towards the Importance of Conforming Behaving to *Adaik*

How important do you think the following items are?	<i>Rantau 1</i>	<i>Rantau 2</i>	<i>Darek</i>	Total Respondents
	MS	MS	MS	MS
Knowing how to behave towards people of different positions, ages and sex	3.52	3.61	3.67	3.59
Decorum in clothing	2.69	3.62	3.63	3.30
Good at <i>basa-basi</i>	2.22	3.49	3.54	3.06

Table 5.6 shows that the item ‘knowing how to behave towards different positions, ages and sexes’ has the highest mean score across the sample (3.56), followed by ‘decorum in clothing’ with mean score 3.30, and ‘being good at *basa-basi*’ is the lowest with mean score 3.06.

When the data from three samples were analyzed separately, the mean scores for *Rantau 1* sample on each item is lower than for the mean scores for the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples, especially on the items ‘decorum in clothing’ and ‘being good at *basa-basi*’ (see Table 5.6). For *Rantau 1* sample, the mean score for the item ‘decorum in clothing’ is 2.68, while for *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample is 3.62 and 3.63 respectively. For the item ‘being good at *basa-basi*’, the mean score for *Rantau 1* is 2.22, while for *Rantau 2* is 3.49 and for *Darek* is 3.54. This indicates that the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples identified these two items as between “important” and “very

important”, while *Rantau 1* sample identified these two items as between “not really important” to “important”.

The parametric one-way ANOVA on the items concerning respondents’ attitudes towards conforming behaving to *adaik* shows only two items that have significant F values (‘decorum in clothing’ and ‘being good at *basa-basi*’) [see Test 20 Appendix II and Table 5.6 (a)]. The F values for these items are significant at .000 level of probability [see Table 5.6 (a)]. It means that the three samples differ significantly on their attitudes towards the important of decorum in clothing and *basa-basi*. There is no significant F value for the item ‘knowing how to behave towards people of different positions, ages and sex.

Table 5.6 (a): ANOVA on the Respondents’ Attitudes towards  
Conforming Behaving to *Adaik*

Items	N	Mean	SD	F	Level of Probability
Knowing how to behave towards people of different positions, ages and sex	192	3.59	.49	1.32	p ≤ .27
Decorum in clothing	192	3.30	.82	40.37*	p ≤ .000
Good at <i>basa-basi</i>	192	3.06	1.03	54.84*	p ≤ .000

The Scheffé Post-hoc comparisons on these two items reveal that there are significant differences among the mean scores of the *Rantau 1* compared to the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples, and no significant differences between the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample [see Test 20 Appendix II and Table 5.6 (b)].

Table 5.6 (b): Scheffé Post-hoc Comparisons on the Respondents' Attitudes towards The Importance of Conforming Behavior to *Adaik*

Items	Schools	Mean Difference	Level of Probability
Decorum in clothing	R1 x R2	-.93*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-.94*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	-.09	$p \leq .99$
Being good at <i>basa-basi</i>	R1 x R2	-1.27*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-1.31*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	-.04	$p \leq .95$

Tables 5.6 (b) shows that the mean scores of the *Rantau 1* sample on these two items (decorum in clothing and being good at *basa-basi*) are significantly different from the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples at .000 level of probability. The mean scores of the *Rantau 1* sample are significantly lower than the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples on these two items. There are no significant differences in mean scores between the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples.

From these findings it can be concluded that the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples differ significantly from the *Rantau 1* in their attitudes towards the importance of decorum in clothing and being good at *basa-basi*, with significantly less importance for the *Rantau 1* sample. The *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples are similar.

### 5.1.2 Traditional Minangkabau Aesthetic Culture: Expressed Attachment

The investigation on the strength of respondents' attachment to traditional Minangkabau aesthetic culture is organized into two aspects. The first aspect is concerned with the attitude of the respondents towards the importance of being attached to and preserving traditional Minangkabau culture, and the second is concerned with the practice of traditional Minangkabau culture. The findings of the data analyses are presented below.

5.1.2.1 The Importance of being Attached to and Preserving Traditional Minangkabau Culture

The importance of being attached to and preserving traditional Minangkabau culture were investigated by respondents being questioned with a 4-point Lickert scale: “very important = 4”, “important = 3”, “not really important = 2” and “not important = 1”. The question was, ‘as Minangkabau, how important is it for you to be attached to and to preserve traditional Minangkabau culture?’ Mean responses on the items were calculated. The results can be seen below.

Table 5.7 shows the mean score across all respondents on the importance of ‘preserving traditional Minangkabau culture’ is 3.56 and the mean score for the importance of ‘being attached to traditional Minangkabau culture’ is 3.52. These scores are above 3. Not surprisingly, when overtly asked, all respondents indicated it is very important to preserve and to be attached to traditional Minangkabau culture.

Table 5.7: Mean Scores of the Respondents’ Attitudes Towards Minangkabau Traditional Culture

As Minangkabau, how important are the following for you?	<i>Rantau 1</i>	<i>Rantau 2</i>	<i>Darek</i>	Total Resp.
	MS	MS	MS	MS
Preserving traditional Minangkabau culture	3.36	3.63	3.72	3.56
Being attached to traditional Minangkabau culture	3.24	3.65	3.69	3.52

When the data from *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample were analysed separately, the mean score for *Rantau 1* sample on each item is lower than *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample. For the item ‘preserving traditional Minangkabau culture’, the mean score for *Rantau 1* is 3.36, while for *Rantau 2* and *Darek* is 3.63 and 3.72 respectively. For the item ‘being attached to traditional Minangkabau culture’, the mean score for *Rantau 1* is 3.24, while for *Rantau 2* and *Darek* is 3.65 and 3.69

respectively. The mean score for *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample are similar, with the *Darek* sample slightly higher on both items.

The parametric one-way ANOVA on the items in this cluster shows significant F values at .000 level of probability for both items, preserving and being attached to traditional Minangkabau culture in this cluster [see Test 26 Appendix II and Table 5.7 (a)]. It means that the three samples have different mean scores on the importance of being attached to and preserving traditional Minangkabau culture.

Table 5.7 (a): ANOVA on the Respondents' Attitudes towards Traditional Minangkabau Culture

Items	N	Mean	SD	F	Level of Probability
Preserving Minangkabau culture	192	3.56	0.5	10.03*	p ≤ .000
Being attached to Minangkabau culture	192	3.52	0.55	14.98*	p ≤ .000

The Scheffé Post-hoc comparisons on these two items reveal that there are significant differences among the mean scores of the *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples [see Test 26 Appendix II and Table 5.7 (b)].

Table 5.7 (b): Scheffé Post-hoc Comparisons on the Respondents' Attitudes towards Minangkabau Traditional Culture

Items	Schools	Mean Difference	Level of Probability
Preserving Minangkabau culture	R1 x R2	-.28*	p ≤ .004
	R1 x D	-.36*	p ≤ .000
	R2 x D	-.09	p ≤ .59
Being attached to Minangkabau culture	R1 x R2	-.41*	p ≤ .000
	R1 x D	-.45*	p ≤ .000
	R2 x D	-.03	p ≤ .92

Tables 5.7 (b) shows that on the item ‘preserving Minangkabau culture’, the difference between *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2* is significant at .004 level of probability



and the difference between *Rantau 1* and *Darek* is significant at .000 level of probability. On the item 'being attached to Minangkabau culture', the *Rantau 1* is significantly differ from the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* at .000 level of probability for both. There are no significant differences in mean scores between the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples.

From these findings, it can be concluded that the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples differ significantly from the *Rantau 1* in their higher level of positive responses to the questions of preserving and being attached to traditional Minangkabau culture. The *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples are similar.

#### **5.1.2.2 Traditional Minangkabau Culture: Practiced Attachment**

The investigation of the practice of traditional Minangkabau culture was organized by four variables each constituted by a cluster of items. The first variable is concerned with practices that indicate respondents' support for traditional Minangkabau culture. The second variable is concerned with students' expressed intentions regarding the use of the Minang language in their future families. The third variable is concerned with respondents' involvement in organizations associated with traditional Minangkabau culture, and the fourth variable is concerned with how often respondents listen to traditional Minangkabau music.

##### **5.1.2.2.1 Practices that Indicate Respondents' Support for Traditional Minangkabau Culture**

In this variable, the practices that indicate respondents' support for traditional Minangkabau culture were investigated in relation to the items in the question cluster in Table 5.8. A 4-point Likert scale: "very important = 4", "important = 3", "not really important = 2", and "not important = 1" was used to measure responses. Mean responses on the items were measured. The results can be seen below.

Table 5.8: Mean Scores on the Respondent' Support for the Practice of Traditional Minangkabau Culture

How important for you about The following	<i>Rantau 1</i>	<i>Rantau 2</i>	<i>Darek</i>	Total Resp.
	MS	MS	MS	MS
Using Minang language	2.70	3.55	3.59	3.27
Wearing traditional woman's dress	1.49	3.00	3.04	2.48
Being skilled at <i>petatah-petitih</i>	1.40	3.21	3.30	2.60

Table 5.8 shows that for all respondents, the mean score for item ‘using Minang language’ is the highest (above three = 3.28), and the mean score for the other two items ‘wearing traditional woman’s dress’ and ‘being skilled in *petatah-petitih*’ was below three (2.48 and 2.60 respectively).

When the data from the three samples were analysed separately, the mean score for *Rantau 1* sample on each item is much lower than for the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples, especially on the item ‘wearing traditional woman’s dress’ and ‘being skilled in *petatah-petitih*’. For these items, the mean score for the *Rantau 1* sample is around one (1.49 for wearing traditional woman’s dress and 1.39 for being skilled in *petatah-petitih*). For the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample, by contrast, the mean score for item ‘wearing traditional woman’s dress’ is 3.00 and 3.04 respectively, and for item ‘being skilled in *petatah-petitih*’ is 3.21 and 3.30 respectively. This indicates that the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples identified these two items as “important”, while *Rantau 1* sample identified these two items as “not important”.

The parametric one-way ANOVA on the items concerning respondents’ support for the practice of traditional Minangkabau culture shows significant F values for all items (using Minang language, wearing traditional woman’s dress and being good at *petatah-petitih*) at .000 level of probability [see Test 26 Appendix II and Table 5.8 (a)]. It means that the three samples differ significantly on the support for the practice of traditional Minangkabau culture.

Table 5.8 (a): ANOVA on the Respondents' Support for the Practice of Minangkabau Traditional Culture

Items	N	Mean	SD	F	Level of Probability
Using Minang language	192	2.70	.91	24.87*	$p \leq .000$
Wearing traditional woman's dress	192	3.55	1.09	76.77*	$p \leq .000$
Being skilled at <i>petatah-petitih</i>	192	3.59	1.13	147.59*	$p \leq .000$

The Scheffé Post-hoc comparisons on these three items reveal that there are significant differences among the mean scores of the *Rantau 1* compared to *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples, and no differences between the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples [see Test 27 Appendix II and Table 5.8 (b)].

Table 5.8 (b): Scheffé Post-hoc Comparisons on the Respondents' Support for the Practice of Traditional Minangkabau Culture

Items	Schools	Mean Difference	Level of Probability
Using Minang language	R1 x R2	-.85*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-.89*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	-.04	$p \leq .96$
Wearing traditional woman's dress	R1 x R2	-1.51*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-1.54*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	-.04	$p \leq .97$
Being skilled at <i>petatah-petitih</i>	R1 x R2	-1.81*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-1.89*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	-.08	$p \leq .80$

Tables 5.8 (b) shows that the mean score of the *Rantau 1* sample on each item in this cluster is significantly different from the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples at .000 level of probability. The mean scores of the *Rantau 1* sample are significantly lower than the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples on each item in this cluster. There are no significant differences in mean scores between the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples on each item in this cluster.

From these findings it can be concluded that the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples differ significantly from the *Rantau 1* in their level of support for the practice of traditional Minangkabau culture, with significantly lower support at *Rantau 1* sample. The *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples are similar.

5.1.2.2.2 Language to be Used in the Future

While 95% of the respondents said they used Minang in their parental home, students responses differed by group on the question of whether they would use Minang in their future family home.

Table 5.9: The Intention of Using Minang Language  
in Respondents' Future Families  
(Percentages shown, N = 192)

What language do you want to use in your own future family?	<i>Rantau 1</i>		<i>Rantau 2</i>		<i>Darek</i>		Total Resp.	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Minang	46	69	45	64	40	74	131	68

Table 5.9 shows that from one hundred ninety two respondents, 68% still want to use Minang language in their own family in the future; 31% of respondents want to use Indonesian language, and only about 1% don't yet know what language they want to use. When the data were analysed separately between , and , the percentage who will use Minang at was the lowest (64%) compared with (69%) of and (74%) of respondents. This is the only instance where has not been the lowest. Over all, these findings indicate that Minang language will be less popular among all groups of respondents in their future family. The difference between expressed commitment to preserve traditional Minangkabau culture and intended practice should be noted (85% to 100%

expressed commitment compared with 64% to 74% intended practice of Minang language).

### 5.1.2.2.3 Involvement in Traditional Cultural Groups

Respondents were asked whether or not they were involved in traditional Minangkabau cultural groups, such as Minangkabau dancing groups and music groups (*randai*, *salawat dulang* and *saluang*). The responses can be seen at the table 5.10.

Here the difference between *Rantau 1* and the two other schools shows up markedly with zero percentage at *Rantau 1* being involved in several cultural activities, and 50% involvement of the two other schools in dance.

Table 5.10: Respondents’ Involvement in the Traditional Minangkabau Cultural Organizations  
(Percentages shown, N = 192)

Are you involved in these traditional cultural groups?	<i>Rantau 1</i>		<i>Rantau 2</i>		<i>Darek</i>		Total Resp.	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Minangkabau Dancing group	12	18	31	44	21	39	64	33
Music <i>randai</i> group	0	0	13	18	8	15	21	11
Music <i>shalawat dulang</i> group	0	0	5	7	4	7	9	5
Music <i>saluang</i>	0	0	2	3	7	13	9	5

These findings again indicate a contrast between what respondents’ *said* about the importance of preserving Minangkabau traditional culture and their practices.

### 5.1.2.2.4 Listening to Traditional Minangkabau Music

Respondents were asked how often they listen to traditional Minangkabau music, such as listening to *randai*, *saluang* and *shalawat dulang*. A 4 point Likert scale:

‘often = 4’, ‘sometime = 3’, ‘rarely = 2’ and ‘never = 1’ was used. Mean responses on the items were calculated. The results can be seen below.

Table 5.11: Mean Scores of the Respondents Listening to Traditional Minangkabau Music

How often do you listen to these Traditional forms of music?	<i>Rantau 1</i>	<i>Rantau 2</i>	<i>Darek</i>	Total Resp.
	MS	MS	MS	MS
<i>Randai</i> music	1.40	2.86	2.80	2.33
<i>Saluang</i> music	1.37	2.94	2.85	2.37
<i>Salawat dulang</i>	1.37	2.83	2.59	2.26

Table 5.11 shows that for the total respondents, ‘listening to *saluang* music’ has the highest mean score (2.37), followed by ‘listening to *randai* music’ with the mean score 2.33 and ‘listening to *salawat dulang* music’ with the mean score 2.26. When the data from the three samples are analysed separately, it is found that the mean score for each item for *Rantau 1* is much lower compared to *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples. For the *Rantau 1* respondents, the mean scores on these three items are around one, while for *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples the mean scores are around three.

The parametric one-way ANOVA on the items concerning respondents’ interest in listening to the traditional Minangkabau music shows significant F values on all items in this cluster [see Test 28 Appendix II and Table 5.11 (a)]. All F values are significant at .000 level of probability. It means that the three samples are significantly different from each other on each item in this cluster.

Table 5.11 (a): ANOVA on with which Respondents’ Listen to Traditional Minangkabau Music

Items	N	Mean	SD	F	Level of Probability
<i>Randai</i>	192	2.33	.97	92.15*	p ≤ .000
<i>Saluang</i>	192	2.37	1.04	92.89*	p ≤ .000
<i>Shalawat dulang</i>	192	2.26	1.04	62.01*	p ≤ .000

The Scheffé Post-hoc comparisons on the three items in this cluster show that there are significant differences between the mean scores of the *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2* and *Rantau 1* and *Darek* respondents at .000 level of probability for all. The *Rantau 1* respondents' mean scores are significantly lower than the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* respondents [see Test 28 Appendix II and Table 5.11 (b)]. There are no significant differences in mean scores between *Rantau 2* and *Darek* respondents.

Table 5.11 (b): Scheffé Post-hoc Comparisons on the Respondents' Interest in Listening to Traditional Minangkabau Music

Items	Schools	Mean Difference	Level of Probability
<i>Randai</i>	R1 x R2	-1.46*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-1.39*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	.06	$p \leq .88$
<i>Saluang</i>	R1 x R2	-1.57*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-1.48*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	.09	$p \leq .79$
<i>Shalawat dulang</i>	R1 x R2	-1.46*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-1.22*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	.24	$p \leq .23$

From these findings, it can be concluded that the *Rantau 1* sample differ significantly from the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample in their level of interest in listening to traditional Minangkabau music, with significantly less interest than the *Rantau 1* sample. The *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample have similar levels of interest. *Rantau 1* respondents rarely or almost never listened to traditional Minangkabau music, while *Rantau 2* and *Darek* respondents indicated that they did so more often ('sometimes').

### 5.1.3 Attachment to Minangkabau Community

Respondents' expressed attachment to Minangkabau community was investigated in relation to the items in the question cluster in Table 5.12. A 5-point Likert scale:

“very strong = 5”, “strong = 4”, “quite strong = 3”, “not really strong = 2” and “weak = 1” was used to measure these feelings. Mean responses on the items were calculated, and the results can be seen below.

Table 5.12: Mean Scores of the Respondents’ Attachment to Minangkabau Community

How strongly do you feel about the items below?	<i>Rantau 1</i>	<i>Rantau 2</i>	<i>Darek</i>	Total Resp
	MS	MS	MS	MS
Pride in the achievement of Minangkabau people	3.93	4.58	4.61	4.36
Support for Minangkabau products	3.88	4.54	4.35	4.26
Pride in being a Minangkabau	3.79	4.48	4.39	4.21
Love for the homeland	3.82	4.55	4.37	4.24
Love for Minangkabau people	3.51	3.96	4.02	3.75
Sense of responsibility for contributing to prosperity of Minangkabau people	3.48	4.10	4.15	3.85

Table 5.12 shows that expressions of pride in the achievement of Minangkabau people, support for Minangkabau products, love for Minangkabau land, and pride in being Minangkabau have the highest mean scores across the samples, with mean scores above four. Feeling of love for Minangkabau people and sense of responsibility for contributing to prosperity of Minangkabau people are next with mean scores above three.

When the data from the three samples were analysed separately, the mean score on each item for the *Rantau 1* sample is lower than *Rantau 2* and *Darek*, and the mean score for *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples are closer together.

The parametric one-way ANOVA on the items in the cluster concerning respondents’ attachment to Minangkabau community shows significant F values on all items [see Test 29 Appendix II and Table 5.12 (a)]. One item, ‘love for Minangkabau people’ has significant F value at .005 level of probability. Other items are significant at .000 level of probability [see Table 5.12 (a)].



Table 5.12 (a): ANOVA on the Respondents' Attachment to Minangkabau Community

Items	N	Mean	SD	F	Level of Probability
Pride in the achievement of Minangkabau people	192	4.36	.89	13.82*	$p \leq .000$
Support for Minangkabau products	192	4.26	.98	8.75*	$p \leq .000$
Pride in being Minangkabau	192	4.21	.99	10.37*	$p \leq .000$
Love for the homeland	192	4.24	1.01	9.73*	$p \leq .000$
Love for Minangkabau people	192	3.82	.98	5.49*	$p \leq .005$
Sense of responsibility for contributing to prosperity of Minangkabau People	192	3.90	1.08	8.38	$p \leq .000$

Table 5.12 (b): Scheffé Post-hoc Comparison T on the Respondents' Attachment to Minangkabau Community

Items	Schools	Mean Difference	Level of Significance
Pride in the achievement of Minangkabau people	R1 x R2	-.65*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-.69*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	-.03	$p \leq .97$
Support for Minangkabau products	R1 x R2	-.65*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-.47*	$p \leq .025$
	R2 x D	.18	$p \leq .56$
Pride in being Minangkabau	R1 x R2	-.69*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-.60*	$p \leq .003$
	R2 x D	.09	$p \leq .87$
Love for the homeland	R1 x R2	-.73*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-.73*	$p \leq .009$
	R2 x D	.18	$p \leq .59$
Love for Minangkabau people	R1 x R2	-.45*	$p \leq .015$
	R1 x D	-.51*	$p \leq .023$
	R2 x D	-.06	$p \leq .94$
Sense of responsibility for contributing to prosperity of Minangkabau people	R1 x R2	-.62*	$p \leq .003$
	R1 x D	-.67*	$p \leq .002$
	R2 x D	-.05	$p \leq .96$

The Scheffé Post-hoc comparisons on these items shows that the mean scores of the *Rantau 1* sample on each item is significantly different from the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples, and there are no significant differences in mean scores between the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples [see Test 28 Appendix II and Tables 5.12

(b)]. The mean scores of the *Rantau 1* sample are significantly lower than the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples, while the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples are similar.

From these findings, it can be concluded that the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples differ significantly from the *Rantau 1* sample on their higher level of attachment to the Minangkabau community, and the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples have the same level of attachment.

## **5.2 Findings on the Research Question 2: *How strongly does the Minangkabau ideal of womanhood still influence these girls?***

Two cluster variables concerning the strength of the ideal of Minangkabau womanhood were investigated. The first cluster is concerned with the respondents' attitudes toward the role and responsibility of Minangkabau women. The second cluster is concerned with the attitudes toward the importance of having the characteristics of Minangkabau women. The findings are presented below.

### **5.2.1 Attitudes Towards the Role and Responsibilities of Minangkabau Women**

This variable was investigated in relation to the items in the question cluster in Table 5.13. A 4 point Likert scale: “very important = 4”, “important = 3”, “not really important = 2” and “not important = 1” was used to measure this variable. Mean responses on the items were calculated, and the results can be seen in the next page.

Table 5.13 shows that the item ‘responsible for the continuity of the generation’ has the highest mean score 3.38, followed by ‘having motherly characteristics’ (3.44) and ‘being a central pillar of the house’ (2.96).

Table 5.13: Mean Scores of Respondents' Attitudes towards Roles and Responsibilities of Minangkabau Women

As a Minangkabau girl, how important do you think these Minangkabau women's roles are for you?	<i>Rantau 1</i>	<i>Rantau 2</i>	<i>Darek</i>	Total Resp.
	MS	MS	MS	MS
Responsible for the continuity of the generation	3.12	3.48	3.56	3.38
Having motherly characteristics	3.13	3.52	3.70	3.44
Being a central pillar of the house	2.16	3.38	3.39	2.96

However, when the data were analysed separately between *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample, the mean score on each item for the *Rantau 1* is lower compared to the mean score of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples, especially on the item 'being a central pillar of the house'. For this item, the mean score for *Rantau 1* is 2.16, while for *Rantau 2* is 3.38 and for *Darek* is 3.39. The mean score on each item for *Rantau 2* and *Darek* respondents are closer together (see also Tables 5.13).

The parametric one-way ANOVA on the items addressing respondents' attitudes towards roles and responsibilities of Minangkabau women shows significant F values in all items [see Test 30 Appendix II and Table 5.13 (a)]. All F values are significant at .000 level of probability.

Table 5.13 (a): ANOVA on the Respondents' Attitudes towards Roles and Responsibilities of Minangkabau Woman

Items	N	Mean	SD	F	Level of Probability
Responsible for generation continuity	192	3.38	.67	8.34*	$p \leq .000$
Having motherly characteristics	192	3.44	.71	11.68*	$p \leq .000$
Being a central pillar of the house	192	2.96	1.08	38.63*	$p \leq .000$

The Scheffé Post-hoc comparisons on these three items show that there are significant differences between the mean scores of the *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2* sample, and between *Rantau 1* and *Darek* sample [see Test 30 Appendix II and

Table 5.13 (b)]. There are no differences between the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples.

Table 5.13 (b): Scheffé Post-hoc Comparisons on the Respondents' Attitudes towards Roles and Responsibilities of Minangkabau Woman

Items	Schools	Mean Difference	Level of Probability
Responsible for generation continuity	R1 x R2	-.36*	$p \leq .005$
	R1 x D	-.44*	$p \leq .001$
	R2 x D	-.07	$p \leq .96$
Having motherly characteristics	R1 x R2	-1.22*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-1.22*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	-.09	$p \leq .97$
Being a central pillar of the house	R1 x R2	-.39*	$p \leq .004$
	R1 x D	-.57*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	-.18	$p \leq .80$

As can be observed in Tables 5.13 (b), the mean score of the *Rantau 1* sample on each item in this cluster is significantly different from the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples. On the item 'responsible for the generation continuity', the mean score of the *Rantau 1* sample differ significantly at .005 level of probability from the mean score of the *Rantau 2* sample, and at .001 level of probability from *Darek* sample. On the item 'having motherly characteristics', the mean score of the *Rantau 1* sample differ significantly from the mean score of the *Rantau 2* sample at .004 level of probability, and from the *Darek* samples at .000 level of probability. On the items 'being a central pillar of the house, the mean score of the *Rantau 1* sample differ significantly from the mean scores of *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples at .000 level of probability for both. There are no significant differences in mean scores between the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples on each item in this cluster. The mean scores of the *Rantau 1* sample are significantly lower than the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples.

From these findings, it can be concluded that the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample differ significantly from *Rantau 1* in their level of positive responses to the commitment of Minangkabau women's role and responsibility, with significantly lower commitment at the *Rantau 1* sample.

### 5.2.2 Attitudes Towards the Importance of Having Characteristics of Minangkabau Woman

The strength of the appeal of the ideal characteristics of Minangkabau woman was investigated in relation to the items in the question cluster in Table 5.14. A 4 point Likert scale: “very important = 4”, “important = 3”, “not really important = 2” and “not important = 1” was used to measure this variable. Mean responses on the items were calculated, and the results can be seen in Table 5.14.

Table 5.14: Mean Scores of the Respondents' Perception on the Importance of Having Characteristics of Minangkabau Woman

As Minangkabau woman, how important do you think it is to have the characteristics of Minangkabau women listed below?	<i>Rantau 1</i>	<i>Rantau 2</i>	<i>Darek</i>	Total Resp.
	MS	MS	MS	MS
Being a good Muslim	3.63	3.73	3.74	3.70
Being wise	3.57	3.59	3.69	3.61
Soft and tender in speech	3.54	3.72	3.72	3.66
Being good at keeping a secret	3.48	3.58	3.63	3.56
Thoughtful to others	3.46	3.61	3.61	3.56
Knowing how to behave in the proper way	3.45	3.55	3.65	3.54
Being mentally strong	3.36	3.58	3.61	3.51
Being modest	3.27	3.41	3.39	3.35
Liking to work hard	3.18	3.49	3.61	3.42
Being good at hiding the feelings	3.16	3.48	3.57	3.40
Being friendly	3.15	3.39	3.39	3.31
Knowing how to manage the household	2.79	3.62	3.78	3.38
Being good at cooking and sewing	2.64	3.39	3.67	3.23

Table 5.14 shows that for all respondents, the mean scores for each item is above 3 and some are close to 4. This means that these characteristics of a Minangkabau woman are regarded as between “important” and “very important” across all respondents.

When the data from the three samples were analysed separately, the mean scores of the *Rantau 1* sample are lower than the mean score of the *Rantau2* and *Darek* sample, especially on the items ‘knowing how to manage the household’ and ‘good at cooking and sewing’. For the item ‘knowing how to manage the household’, the mean score for *Rantau 1* is 2.79, while for *Rantau 2* and *Darek* it is 3.62 and 3.78 respectively. For the item ‘good at cooking and sewing’, the mean score for *Rantau 1* is 2.64, while for *Rantau 2* and *Darek* it is 3.39 and 3.67 respectively.

Table 5.14 (a): ANOVA on the Respondents’ Attitudes towards the Importance of Having Ideal Characteristics of Minangkabau Women

Items	N	Mean	SD	F	Level of Probability
Being a good Muslim	192	3.70	.46	1.23	$p \leq .29$
Being wise	192	3.61	.52	.83	$p \leq .44$
Soft and tender in speech	192	3.66	.49	3.14	$p \leq .05$
Being good at keeping a secret	192	3.56	.51	1.43	$p \leq .21$
Thoughtful to others	192	3.56	.51	1.79	$p \leq .17$
Knowing how to behave in the proper way	192	3.54	.53	2.17	$p \leq .12$
Being mentally strong	192	3.51	.69	2.61	$p \leq .076$
Being modest	192	3.35	.62	.99	$p \leq .076$
Liking to work hard	192	3.42	.66	7.71*	$p \leq .001$
Being good at hiding the feelings	192	3.40	.72	5.95*	$p \leq .003$
Being friendly	192	3.31	.73	2.42	$p \leq .09$
Knowing how to manage the household	192	3.38	.73	17.93*	$p \leq .000$
Being good at cooking and sewing	192	3.21	.89	17.65*	$p \leq .000$

The parametric one-way ANOVA on the respondents’ attitude towards the importance of having ideal characteristics of Minangkabau women shows only four items that have significant F values [see Test 31 Appendix II and Table 5.14 (a)].

These items are ‘being good at hiding the feelings’, ‘liking to work hard’, ‘knowing how to manage the household’ and ‘being good at cooking and sewing’.

Table 5.14 (b): Scheffé Post-hoc Comparisons on the Respondents’ Attitudes towards Being Good at Hiding the Feelings, Liking to Work Hard, Knowing How to Manage the Household, and Being Good at Cooking and Sewing

Items	Schools	Mean Difference	Level of Probability
Being good at hiding the feelings	R1 x R2	-.31*	$p \leq .032$
	R1 x D	-.41*	$p \leq .007$
	R2 x D	-.09	$p \leq .75$
Liking to work hard	R1 x R2	-.31	$p \leq .016$
	R1 x D	-.43*	$p \leq .001$
	R2 x D	-.12	$p \leq .59$
Knowing how to manage the household	R1 x R2	-.83*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-.99*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	-.27	$p \leq .97$
Being good at cooking and sewing	R1 x R2	-.75*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-1.02*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	-.27	$p \leq .16$

The Scheffé Post-hoc comparisons on these four items reveal that there are significant differences among the mean scores of the *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples [see Test 31 Appendix II and Table 5.14 (b)].

From Tables 5.14 (b) can be seen that the mean score of the *Rantau 1* sample on the item ‘being good at hiding the feelings’ differ significantly from the mean score of the *Rantau 2* sample at .032 level of probability and from the *Darek* sample at .007 level of probability. On the item ‘liking to work hard’, the mean score of the *Rantau 1* sample differ significantly from the mean score of the *Rantau 2* sample at .016 level of probability and from the *Darek* sample at .001 level of probability. On the item ‘knowing how to manage the household’ and ‘being good at cooking and sewing’, the mean scores of the *Rantau 1* sample differ significantly from the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples at .000 level of probability. The mean scores of the *Rantau 1* samples on these four items are significantly lower compared

to the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples. There are no significant differences in mean scores between *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples.

From these findings, it can be concluded that the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples differ from the *Rantau 1* sample in their higher level of positive responses to the important of having characteristics of Minangkabau women in the items ‘being good at hiding the feelings’, ‘liking to work hard’, ‘knowing how to manage the household’ and ‘being good at cooking and sewing’. On other characteristics of Minangkabau women, all samples show similar level of responses.

## **Conclusion**

From the findings on the girls’ attachment to Minangkabau identity and to Minangkabau ideal of womanhood, several conclusions can be drawn. (1) It is clear that some characteristics of Minangkabau identity are rated very low among the girls across the school samples, but some characteristics are still rated highly among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples. (2) On the comparison between the *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples, the *Rantau 1* sample always shows a significant less attachment to most of the variables related to Minangkabau identity and to Minangkabau ideal of womanhood. (3) The less strong attachment of *Rantau 1* girls to the characteristics of Minangkabau ideal of womanhood, especially on the item ‘being good at hiding the feelings’, ‘liking to work hard’, ‘knowing how to manage the household’ and ‘being good at cooking and sewing’ compared to the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples is an interesting finding. It indicates that the feminized ideal characteristics – women’s characteristics as nurturers and self-sacrificing – has become weaker among the *Rantau 1* girls, but still remain very strong among *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls. I will discuss these findings on Minangkabau identity in Chapter seven.



## CHAPTER SIX

### MINANGKABAU IDENTITY: EXPLAINING THE VARIANCE

This Chapter presents the findings of the Research Question 3: *What factors are associated with the girls' attachment to Minangkabau identity?* The previous Chapter found variation in girls' attachment to Minangkabau identity and the Minangkabau ideal of womanhood. In most of the variables investigated, the *Rantau 1* sample differed significantly from the *Darek* sample, and also from the *Rantau 2* sample. The mean score and/or the proportion of the *Rantau 1* sample is significantly lower than that of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples, while the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples are always closer together.

This thesis does not undertake to explain these differences, because that lies beyond the scope of this study. What it does undertake is to investigate whether there are any factors associated with this variance. It will identify some, but the undertaking stops at identifying them. It does not attempt to explain, except in the broadest terms, how and why they may be associated with variation.

I have been concerned to investigate two possible factors associated with variations in the girls' self-identification as Minangkabau. The first is the socio-economic background (parental education and occupation) of the respondents. The question is '*Does the socio-economic background of the respondents produce an effect in the girls' self-identification as Minangkabau?*' The second factor is the appeal of a

chosen – a globalized identity – as opposed to an ascribed or group identity. To test whether responses held for other group identities than for Minangkabau alone, clusters of questions on another group identity, Indonesian national identity, were added. The relevant research question is *‘Does the strength or weakness of girls’ attachment to Minangkabau identity indicate a choice for or against group or ascribed identity?’* The findings on these questions are presented in this chapter.

This Chapter is comprised of three main sections. The first section presents the findings on the girls’ responses to Indonesian identity. The second section presents the findings on the girls’ responses to a globalized identity, and the third section presents the findings on the effect of socio-economic background in the girls’ self-identification as Minangkabau.

## **6.1 Indonesian identity: the findings**

As with the construction of Minangkabau identity, my approach to the construction of Indonesian identity is in two parts. The first is respondents’ identity as Indonesian citizens generally, and the second is respondents’ identity as Indonesian women (see Chapter two for discussion of Indonesian citizen). Girls’ attachment to the ideas of *Pancasila* community and responsibilities towards the country were taken as measures of Indonesian identity. Girls’ attachment to the roles advocated for women by the Indonesian government in the PKK (Family Welfare Movement) were used to measure girls’ attachment to the ideal of Indonesian womanhood. The research findings are presented below.

### **6.1.1 Identity as an Indonesian citizen**

The investigation of the girls’ identity as Indonesian in general was organized into three clusters. The first cluster is concerned with the respondents’ attachment to

Indonesian community. The second is concerned with the girls' attitudes towards living in the kind of community advocated by *Pancasila*, and the third is concerned with the girls' sense of responsibility towards the country. The findings are presented below.

#### 6.1.1.1 Attachment to Indonesian community

Respondents' *expressed* attachment to Indonesian community was investigated in relation to the items in the question cluster in Table 6.1. A 5-point Likert scale: "very strong = 5", "strong = 4", "quite strong = 3", "not really strong = 2" and "weak = 1" was used to measure these feelings. Mean responses on the items were calculated, and the results can be seen in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1: Mean Scores of the Respondents' Attachment to the Indonesian Community

How strongly do you feel:	<i>Rantau 1</i>	<i>Rantau 2</i>	<i>Darek</i>	Total Respondents
	MS	MS	MS	MS
Pride in being Indonesian	4.09	4.65	4.61	4.44
Support for Indonesian products	4.10	4.77	4.54	4.47
Pride in the achievement of Indonesian people	3.93	4.58	4.43	4.31
Love for the motherland	3.91	4.77	4.67	4.44
Responsible for contributing to prosperity of Indonesian people	3.56	4.08	4.15	3.92
Love for Indonesian people	3.45	3.92	4.02	3.78
Solidarity with other ethnic groups in Indonesia	3.30	4.10	3.93	3.77

In Table 6.1 it can be seen that the expressions of 'support for Indonesian products', 'pride in being Indonesian', 'love for the motherland' and 'pride in the achievement of Indonesian people' have the highest mean scores across the samples, with the mean scores (MS) above four. 'A sense of responsibility for contributing to the prosperity of Indonesian people', 'solidarity with other ethnic groups in Indonesia'

and ‘love for Indonesian people’ are next in order, with the mean scores less than four.

When the data is analysed separately between each sample, the mean scores for the *Rantau 1* sample are lower than the mean scores for the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples, while the mean scores for the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples are similar.

The parametric one-way ANOVA on the items addressing respondents’ attachment to Indonesian community shows that all items in this cluster have significant F values [see Test 1 Appendix III and Table 6.1 (a)]. Table 6.1 (a) shows only one item (‘sense of responsibility for contributing to prosperity of Indonesian people’) has a significant F value at .003 level of probability. Other items are significant at .000 level of probability.

Table 6.1 (a): ANOVA on the Respondents’ Attachment to Indonesian Community

Items on the respondents’ attachment to Indonesian Community	N	Mean	SD	F	Level of Probability
Pride in being Indonesian	192	4.44	.82	10.45*	p ≤ .000
Support for Indonesian products	192	4.47	.84	12.42*	p ≤ .000
Pride of the achievement of Indonesian people	192	4.31	.91	10.52*	p ≤ .000
Love for the motherland	192	4.44	.83	12.38*	p ≤ .000
Sense of responsibility for contributing to prosperity of Indonesian people	192	3.92	.1.08	5.97*	p ≤ .003
Love for Indonesian people	192	3.78	.96	6.82*	p ≤ .000
Solidarity with other ethnic groups in Indonesia	192	3.77	.1.11	10.74*	p ≤ .000

Scheffé Post-hoc comparisons on these items reveal that there are significant differences between the mean scores of the *Rantau 1* and the *Rantau 2* sample and the *Rantau 1* and the *Darek* sample [see Test 1 Appendix III and Tables 6.1 (b)]. The mean scores of the *Rantau 1* sample on all items in this cluster are significantly lower than the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples. There are no

significant differences in mean scores between *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples [see Test 1 Appendix III and Tables 6.1 (b)].

Table 6.1 (b): Scheffé Post-hoc Comparisons on the Respondents' Attachment to Indonesian Community

Items	Schools	Mean Difference	Level of Significance
Pride in being Indonesian	R1 x R2	-.56*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-.52*	$p \leq .002$
	R2 x D	.04	$p \leq .97$
Support for Indonesian products	R1 x R2	-.67*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-.43*	$p \leq .014$
	R2 x D	.24	$p \leq .23$
Pride in the achievement of Indonesian people	R1 x R2	-.65*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-.50*	$p \leq .008$
	R2 x D	.15	$p \leq .63$
Love for the motherland	R1 x R2	-.86*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-.76*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	.11	$p \leq .72$
Sense of responsibility for contributing to Prosperity of Indonesian people	R1 x R2	-.57*	$p \leq .02$
	R1 x D	-.59*	$p \leq .01$
	R2 x D	-.06	$p \leq .95$
Attach to Indonesian people	R1 x R2	-.47*	$p \leq .014$
	R1 x D	-.57*	$p \leq .004$
	R2 x D	-.10	$p \leq .83$
Solidarity with other ethnic groups in Indonesia	R1 x R2	-.80*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-.63*	$p \leq .006$
	R2 x D	.17	$p \leq .66$

It can be concluded that the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples differ significantly from the *Rantau 1* sample on their higher level of attachment to Indonesian community, while the *Rantau 2* and the *Darek* samples are similar.

#### 6.1.1.2 Attitudes toward living in the kind of community advocated by *Pancasila*

Respondents' attitude towards living in the kind of community advocated by *Pancasila* was investigated in relation to the items in the question cluster in Table

6.2. A 4-point Likert scale: “very important = 4” “important = 3”, “not really important = 2”, and “not important = 1” was used to measure this variable. Mean responses were calculated, and the results are presented in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Mean Score of the Respondents’ Attitudes toward  
Living in a Community Advocated by *Pancasila*

How important do you think it is to live in the kind of community below:	<i>Rantau 1</i>	<i>Rantau 2</i>	<i>Darek</i>	Total Respondents
	MS	MS	MS	MS
A united country	3.64	3.77	3.80	3.73
A caring community	3.58	3.80	3.87	3.74
A community based on mutual respect	3.60	3.72	3.72	3.65
A community which priorities general above individual interests	3.34	3.80	3.74	3.52

Table 6.2 shows that the item ‘living in a caring community’ has the highest mean score (3.74) across the samples, followed by ‘living in a united country’ (3.73), ‘living in a community based on mutual respect’ (3.65), and ‘living in a community which priorities general above individual interests’ (3.52). The mean score for each item is above three.

When the data is analysed separately between each sample, the mean score for each item for the *Rantau 1* sample is lower than for the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples, especially on the item ‘living in a community which priorities general above individual interests’. For this item, the mean score for the *Rantau 1* sample is 3.35 compared to 3.80 for the *Rantau 2* sample and 3.87 for the *Darek* sample.

The parametric one-way ANOVA on the items concerning living in a community advocated by *Pancasila* shows only two items have significant F values [see Test 2 Appendix III and Table 6.2 (a)]. These items are ‘living in a caring community’ and ‘living in a community which priorities general above individual interests’. For

these two items, the F values are significant at .000 level of probability [see Table 6.2 (a)].

Table 6.2 (a): ANOVA on the Respondents Attitudes Towards Living in a Community Advocated by *Pancasila*

Items	N	Mean	SD	F	Level of Probability
Living in united country	192	3.73	.45	2.19	$p \leq .114$
Living in caring community	192	3.74	.44	8.05*	$p \leq .000$
Living in community based on mutual respect	192	3.68	.47	1.51	$p \leq .224$
Living in community which priorities general above individual interests	192	3.54	.58	13.81*	$p \leq .000$

The Scheffé Post-hoc comparisons on these two items ('living in a caring community' and 'living in a community which priorities general above individual interests') show that there are significant differences between the mean scores of the *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2* and the *Rantau 1* and *Darek* samples [see Test 2 Appendix III and Table 6.2 (b)]. There are no significant differences between the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples [see also Test 2 Appendix III and Table 6.2 (b)].

Table 6.2 (b): Scheffé Post-hoc Comparisons on the Respondents' Attitudes towards Living in a Caring Community and in a Community which Priorities General above Individual Interests

Items	Schools	Mean Difference	Level of Probability
Living in a caring community	R1 x R2	-.22*	$p \leq .01$
	R1 x D	-.29*	$p \leq .001$
	R2 x D	-.067	$p \leq .67$
Living in a community which priorities general above individual interests	R1 x R2	-.46*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	-.40*	$p \leq .001$
	R2 x D	.062	$p \leq .82$

Table 6.2 (b) shows that the *Rantau 1* respondents' mean score on the item 'living in a caring community' differs significantly from the mean score of the *Rantau 2* at .01

level of probability, and from *Darek* at .001 level of probability. On the item ‘living in a community which priorities general above individual interests’, the *Rantau 1* respondents’ mean score differs significantly from the *Rantau 2* at .000 level of probability and from the *Darek* at .001 level of probability. The mean scores of the *Rantau 1* respondents are significantly lower than the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* respondents on these items. There are no significant differences in mean scores between the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* respondents.

From these findings, it can be concluded that the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples differ significantly from the *Rantau 1* sample in their higher level of support for living in a caring community and in a community which priorities general above individual interests.

### 6.1.1.3 Sense of responsibility as Indonesian citizens

This variable was investigated in relation to the items in the question cluster in Table 6.3 below. A dichotomous scale: “yes” and “no” was used to measure respondents' sense of responsibility. Frequencies on each of these items can be seen in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3: Respondents’ Sense of Responsibilities as Indonesian Citizens  
(Percentages shown, N = 192)

As an Indonesian citizen, do you think you have responsibility for the following ?	<i>Rantau 1</i>		<i>Rantau 2</i>		<i>Darek</i>		Total Respondents	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Participating in community decision making	59	88	65	92	54	100	178	93
Participating in social activities	60	90	70	99	52	96	182	95
Participating in organizations	37	55	64	90	47	87	148	77
Participating in politics	30	45	54	76	42	78	126	66
Going to war to defend the country if it is needed	26	39	60	84	42	78	128	67



As can be observed in Table 6.3, most of the respondents say “yes” that they have responsibility for ‘participating in community decision-making’ (93%), and for ‘participating in social activities’ (95%). The big difference is with the items ‘participating in organizations’, ‘participating in politics’ and ‘going to war to defend the country if it is needed’. The percentage dropped to 77% for the item ‘participating in organizations’, 66% for the item ‘participating in politics’, and 67% for the item ‘going to war to defend the country if it is needed’.

The analyses of the responses on the *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples shows differences in the percentages between *Rantau 1* on the items ‘participating in organizations’, ‘participating in politics’, and ‘going to war to defend the country if it is needed’ compared to the percentages at the other two schools. However, the percentages for the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples on each item are almost the same.

The size of these differences between *Rantau 1* on the one hand and *Rantau 2* and *Darek* on the other is larger than on any other cluster of item in the study. The Chi-Square tests with 2 x 2 table show a statistically significant difference between *Rantau 1* and *Rantau 2* and *Darek* [see Tests 3 - 11 Appendix III and Table 6.3 (a)].

Table 6.3 (a): Chi-Square on Responsibility Items: Participating in Organization, Politics and Defend the Country if it is Needed

Items	Comparison	$\chi^2$	Probability Level	Comment
Participating in organizations	R1 x R2	21.42	$p \leq .000$	Significant
	R1 x D	14.26	$p \leq .000$	Significant
	R2 x D	.297	$p \leq .58$	Not significant
Participating in politics	R1 x R2	14.16	$p \leq .000$	Significant
	R1 x D	13.51	$p \leq .000$	Significant
	R2 x D	.051	$p \leq .82$	Not significant
Going to war to defend the country if needed	R1 x R2	23.09	$p \leq .000$	Significant
	R1 x D	13.51	$p \leq .000$	Significant
	R2 x D	.93	$p \leq .34$	Not significant

Table 6.3 (a) shows that the differences between the *Rantau 1* and the other two schools on the items ‘participating in organizations’, ‘participating in politics’, and ‘going to war to defend the country if it is needed’, are all significant at .000 level of probability. It means that the proportion of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample in saying “yes” to these three items is significantly higher than the *Rantau 1* sample.

### 6.1.2 Support for roles advocated for women

This variable was investigated through the statements in the question cluster in Table 6.4 below. The last three statements were included as opposite in orientation to the first two statements. A dichotomous scale: “agree” and “disagree” was used to measure this variable. The results of the analyses of the data can be seen in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Respondents’ Attitudes toward the Roles of Indonesian Womanhood  
(Percentages shown, N = 192)

What do you think about the following statements as the best way for women to serve the country?	<i>Rantau 1</i>		<i>Rantau 2</i>		<i>Darek</i>		Total Respondents	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
Working out side the home and also being a good mother	62	92	67	94	47	87	176	91
Accepting “Having two children is enough”	64	95	67	94	51	94	182	94
Being a house wife and taking care of the family exclusively	4	6	4	6	7	13	15	8
Only being a career woman	2	3	4	6	2	4	8	4
Accepting “More children means more fortune”	2	3	5	7	5	9	12	6

Of one hundred and ninety-two respondents, 91% supported the role of women as ‘working outside the home and also being a good mother’ and 94% agreed with the statement ‘having two children is enough’. In contrast, only a few respondents agreed on the items ‘being a house wife and taking care of the family exclusively’ (8%), ‘only being a career woman’ (4%) and ‘more children mean more fortune’ (6%). There are almost no differences between samples in these variables.

**Conclusion**

Responses on Indonesian identity follow the same pattern as responses on Minangkabau identity, except for the cluster on the roles for Indonesian women. The *Rantau 1* sample show a lower attachment to Indonesian identity compared to the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples: lower in their attachment to Indonesian community, to the community advocated by *Pancasila* and lower in their sense of responsibility as Indonesian citizens. The *Rantau 1* sample is similar to the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples in their support for the role advocated for women. This is an interesting exception to the persistence of this pattern of difference from the two other samples. I will discuss the implications of this in Chapter seven.

**6.2 Globalized identity**

As has been noted in Chapter two, in looking at the girls' attachment to globalized identity, this study investigated eight characteristics of identity, which may be differentiated from ethnic-based identities. These eight characteristics, derived from popular global youth culture are: having an equal status with men, not getting married early, having a boyfriend, following music trends, looking attractive, wearing trendy clothing and not caring what other people think. The question was: "how important is it for you to have these characteristics"? A 4 point Likert scale: "very important = 4", "important = 3", "quite important = 2", "not important = 1" was used to measure these feelings. Mean responses on the items were calculated. The results can be seen below in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5 shows that items 'having an equal status with men', 'having a boyfriend' and 'not getting married early' have the first highest group mean scores across the samples. The mean scores for these items are above two. Items 'looking attractive', 'following music trends' and 'wearing trendy clothing' have the second highest

group mean scores with the mean scores around two. The item ‘not caring what other people think’ has the lowest mean score with the mean score below two.

Table 6.5: The Mean Scores of Respondents on the Importance of Having Characteristics of Globalized Identity

How important is it for you to have these characteristics?	<i>Rantau 1</i>	<i>Rantau 2</i>	<i>Darek</i>	Total Respondents
	MS	MS	MS	MS
Having an equal status with men	3.46	2.49	2.35	2.79
Not getting married early	3.13	2.04	1.78	2.35
Having a boyfriend	2.72	2.38	2.24	2.48
Following music trends	2.61	1.73	1.74	2.04
Looking attractive	2.61	1.90	1.61	2.11
Wearing trendy clothing	2.60	1.66	1.54	1.95
Not caring what other people think	2.43	1.54	1.52	1.79

When the data from the three samples were analysed separately, the mean score for *Rantau 1* on each item is much higher than *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample. The mean score for *Rantau 1* on each item in this cluster is between 2.43 to 3.46, while for *Rantau 2* it is between 1.54 to 2.49, and for *Darek* it is between 1.52 to 2.35.

Table 6.5 (a): ANOVA on the Respondents’ Attachment to Globalized Identity

Items	N	Mean	SD	F	Level of Probability
Having an equal status with men	192	2.79	.72	84.16*	p ≤ .000
Not getting married early	192	2.35	1.16	31.84*	p ≤ .000
Having a boyfriend	192	2.48	.89	6.43*	p ≤ .002
Following music trends	192	2.04	.98	16.73*	p ≤ .000
Looking attractive	192	2.11	1.02	14.61*	p ≤ .000
Wearing trendy clothing	192	1.95	.95	31.50*	p ≤ .000
Not caring what other people think	192	1.79	.91	27.31*	p ≤ .000

The parametric one-way ANOVA on the cluster concerning respondents’ attachment to globalized identity shows that all items in this cluster have significant F values [see Test 12 Appendix III and Table 6.5 (a)]. All F values are significant at

.000 level of probability, except for the item ‘having a boyfriend’. For this item, the F value is significant at .002 level of probability [see Table 6.5 (a)].

The Scheffé Post-hoc comparisons in these items show that the mean scores of the *Rantau 1* sample on each item is significantly different from the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples [see Test 12 Appendix III and Tables 6.5 (b)]. There are no significant differences in mean score between the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples [see Test 12 Appendix III and Tables 6.5 (b)]. The mean scores of the *Rantau 1* sample are significantly higher than the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples, while the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* samples are similar.

Table 6.5 (b): Scheffé Post-hoc Comparisons on the Respondents’ Attachment to Globalized Identity

Items	Schools	Mean Difference	Level of Significance
Having an equal status with men	R1 x R2	.97*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	1.11*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	.14	$p \leq .34$
Not getting married early	R1 x R2	1.09*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	1.34*	$p \leq .025$
	R2 x D	.25	$p \leq .42$
Having a boy friend	R1 x R2	.40*	$p \leq .03$
	R1 x D	.54*	$p \leq .004$
	R2 x D	.14	$p \leq .67$
Following music trends	R1 x R2	.88*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	.87*	$p \leq .009$
	R2 x D	.08	$p \leq .99$
Looking attractive	R1 x R2	.71*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	.85*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	.14	$p \leq .71$
Wearing trendy clothing	R1 x R2	.94*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	.106*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	.12	$p \leq .70$
Not caring what other people think	R1 x R2	.90*	$p \leq .000$
	R1 x D	.91*	$p \leq .000$
	R2 x D	-.02	$p \leq .99$

It can be concluded that the *Rantau 1* sample clearly has a higher level of interest in these features of globalized identity than the other two samples.

### **6.3 The effect of socio-economic background on the girls' attachment to Minangkabau identity and to Minangkabau ideal for women.**

This section presents the findings on the effect of socio-economic factors (parental education and occupation) on girls' attachment to Minangkabau identity. Linear regression analyses were used to analyse the data.

Thirteen dependent variables and four independent variables were examined in these linear regression analyses. The thirteen dependent variables are the product of the factor analyses on the five clusters [(1) support for the practice of matrilineal system, (2) attachment to kinship, (3) social proprieties, (4) support for the practice of traditional Minangkabau culture, and (5) attachment to Minangkabau community] concerning Minangkabau identity, and two clusters [(1) role and responsibility of Minangkabau women, and (2) the characteristics of Minangkabau women] addressing Minangkabau ideal for women.

These dependent variables are the followings. (1) Respondents' support for the practice of the role of mother towards family according to Minangkabau matrilineal system. It includes the items 'mother or daughter is the person responsible for maintaining inheritance', 'mother is the person most responsible for family income' and 'mother is the person who should decide what is best for the family'. (2) Respondents' support for the practice of ideal marriage, according to matrilineal system. It includes 'marriage will be arranged by mother and *mamak*' and 'marriage back to *bako* and *mamak*'. (3) Respondents' support for the practice of the roles of father and *mamak* towards family in accordance to Minangkabau matrilineal system. It covers the items 'husband is only a guest in the house' and mother's brother will play more roles than husband in the family'. (4) Respondents' feelings of closeness

to mother and to father. (5) Respondents' feelings of closeness to *etek*, to *mamak* and to *bako*. (6) Respondents' attitudes towards the importance of conforming behaving to adat. It consists of the items 'knowing how to behave towards people of difference positions, ages and sex', 'decorum in clothing' and 'being good at *basa-basi*'. (7) Respondents' opinion on the importance of preserving and being attached to traditional Minangkabau culture. (8) Respondents' support for the practice of traditional Minangkabau culture. It includes the items 'using Minang language in daily life', 'wearing traditional woman's dress (*baju kurung*)', and 'being skilled in *petatah-petitih*'. (9) Respondents' attachment to Minangkabau community. It covers the items 'pride in being Minangkabau and in the achievement of Minangkabau people', 'support for Minangkabau products', 'love for the homeland and the Minangkabau people', and 'sense of responsibility for contributing to prosperity of Minangkabau people'. (10) Respondents' attitude towards the importance of roles and responsibility of Minangkabau women. It consists of the items 'responsible for the generation continuity', 'having motherly characteristics' and 'being a central pillar of the house'. (11) Respondents' opinion on the importance of Minangkabau women having less gender specific characteristics. It includes characteristics of 'being a good Muslim', 'being wise', 'soft and tender in speech', 'being good at keeping a secret,' 'thoughtful to others', and 'liking to work hard'. (12) Respondents' opinion on the importance of Minangkabau women possessing more socially presentable characteristics. It consists of the items 'knowing how to behave in the proper way', 'being mentally strong', 'being modest' and 'being friendly'. (13) Respondents' opinion on the importance of Minangkabau women acquiring characteristics that are considered to be more gender specific. It includes the items 'being good at hiding the feelings', 'knowing how to manage the household' and 'being good at cooking and sewing'.

The four independent explanatory variables are the followings. (1) Father's level of education includes university, senior secondary, junior secondary, primary school.

(2) Mother's level of education includes university, senior secondary, junior secondary, primary school. (3) Father's type of occupation involves self-employed, public servant, private employee, and employer. (4) Mother's type of occupation consists of self-employed, public employee, private employee, employer, and mother housewife. The results of the linear regression analyses are presented below.

### 6.3.1 Support for the practice of the role of mother towards family according to Minangkabau matrilineal system

In examining the influence of the socio economic background on the respondents' support for the practice of the role of mother towards family, the independent variables entered into the regression equation are father and mother university, father self-employed, mother self-employed, mother employer, private and public servant, and three dummy variables (father and mother less than university level, father other than self employed, and mother housewife). The result shows that only the mother's level of education and father's occupation have a significant effect on the dependent variable (see Test 13 Appendix III and Tables 6.6).

Table 6.6: Regression Analyses on the Dependent Variable: Respondents' Support for the Practice of the Role of Mother towards Family according to Minangkabau Matrilineal System

Independent variables	Regression Coefficient	SE	t	Level of Significance
Father university	.102	.219	.466	$p \leq .642$
Mother university	-.573	.223	-2.571*	$p \leq .01$
Father self-employed	.788	.169	4.655*	$p \leq .000$
Mother self-employed	.179	.183	.978	$p \leq .329$
Mother employer, public servant and private employee	-.224	.207	-1.079	$p \leq .282$

This means that respondents whose mothers have university level of education are more likely to have lower support for the practice of the role of mother towards family according to matrilineal system, compared to the respondents whose mothers



have any other level of education. Respondents whose fathers are self-employed are more likely to have stronger support for the practice of the role of mother towards family according to matrilineal system, compared to the respondents whose fathers are not self-employed (employers, public servant and private employee). Mother's occupation has no significant effect on this variable.

### 6.3.2 Support for the practice of ideal marriage according to matrilineal system

By entering the same independent variables as used in section 6.3.1 into the equation, the results of the linear regression analyses on the dependent variable (respondents' support for the practice of ideal marriage according to Minangkabau matrilineal system) show that there is no single independent variable that has a significant effect (see Test 14 Appendix III and Table 6.7).

Table 6.7: Regression Analyses on the Dependent Variable: Respondents' Support for the Practice of the ideal Marriage According to Minangkabau Matrilineal System

Independent variables	Regression Coefficient	SE	t	Level of Significance
Father university	.02	.263	-.293	p ≤ .770
Mother university	-.08	.267	-.160	p ≤ .873
Father self-employed	.158	.203	.779	p ≤ .437
Mother self-employed	-.06	.220	-.297	p ≤ .767
Mother employer, public servant and private employee	-.209	.249	-.841	p ≤ .401

### 6.3.3 Support for the practice of the role of father and *mamak* towards family according to matrilineal system

In this linear regression analyses model, the dependent variable is respondents' support for the practices of the role of father and *mamak* towards family according to matrilineal system, and the independent variables entered into the equation are

also the same as in the section 6.3.1. The result shows no independent variable has a significant effect on the dependent variable (see Test 15 and Table 6.8).

Table 6.8: Regression Analyses on the Dependent Variable: Respondents' Support for the Practice of the Role of Father and Mamak According to Minangkabau Matrilineal System

Independent variables	Regression Coefficient	SE	t	Level of Significance
Father university	.08	.264	.033	$p \leq .761$
Mother university	.02	.269	.008	$p \leq .935$
Father self-employed	.314	.204	.151	$p \leq .126$
Mother self-employed	.285	.221	.099	$p \leq .200$
Mother employer, public servant and private employee	-.02	.250	-.007	$p \leq .946$

### 6.3.4 Feelings of closeness to *etek*, to *mamak* and to *bako*

The independent variables entered in this linear regression equation are father university, mother university, father self-employed, mother self-employed, mother employer, private employee and public servant, and four dummy variables (father and mother less than university level, father other than self employed, and mother housewife). The dependent variable is respondents' attachment to *mamak*, *etek*, and *bako*. The result reveals that only the father's level of education and father's type of occupation has a significant effect (see Test 16 and Table 6.9). There are no significant effects from mother's level of education and type of occupation (see also Test 16 Appendix III and Table 6.9).

Table 6.9: Regression Analyses on the Dependent Variable: Respondents' Feelings of Closeness to *Etek*, *Mamak*, and *Bako*

Independent variables	Regression Coefficient	SE	t	Level of Significance
Father university	-.651	.244	-2.663*	$p \leq .008$
Mother university	.08	.249	.322	$p \leq .748$
Father self-employed	.399	.189	2.115*	$p \leq .036$
Mother self-employed	-.302	.205	-1.478	$p \leq .141$
Mother employer, public servant and private employee	.210	.231	.908	$p \leq .365$

Respondents whose fathers have university level of education are more likely to have less attachment to *mamak*, *etek* and *bako*, compared to the respondents whose fathers have any other level of education. Respondents whose fathers are self-employed are more likely to have stronger attachment to their *mamak*, *etek* and *bako*, compared to respondents whose fathers are not self-employed.

### 6.3.5 Feelings of closeness to mother and to father

In this linear regression analyses, the dependent variable is respondents' feelings of closeness to mother and father. The independent variables entered into the equation are father university, mother university, father self-employed, mother self-employed, mother employer, private employee and public servant, and three dummy variables (father and mother less than university level, father other than self employed, and mother housewife). The result demonstrates that no independent variable has a significant effect on the dependent variable (see Test 17 Appendix III and Table 6.10).

Table 6.10: Regression Analyses on the Dependent Variable: Respondents' Feelings of Closeness to Mother and to Father

Independent variables	Regression Coefficient	SE	t	Level of Significance
Father university	-.469	.260	-1.799	$p \leq .074$
Mother university	.024	.265	.093	$p \leq .926$
Father self-employed	-.274	.202	-1.363	$p \leq .175$
Mother self-employed	-.181	.218	-.831	$p \leq .407$
Mother employer, public servant and private employee	.319	.247	1.296	$p \leq .197$

### 6.3.6 Attitudes toward the importance of conforming behaviour to *adat*

By using the same linear regression model as used in section 6.3.5 on the dependent variable of respondents' attitude towards the importance of conforming behaviour to

*adat*, the result shows that the independent variables: father’s and mother’s level of education, and father’s type of occupation have significant effects on the dependent variable (see Test 18 Appendix III and Table 6.11).

Table 6.11: Regression Analyses on the Dependent Variable: Respondents’ Attitudes towards the Importance of Conforming Behaviour to *Adat*

Independent variables	Regression Coefficient	SE	t	Level of Significance
Father university	-.815	.202	-4.029*	p ≤ .000
Mother university	-.496	.206	-2.414*	p ≤ .017
Father self-employed	.319	.156	2.041*	p ≤ .043
Mother self-employed	.079	.028	.469	p ≤ .640
Mother employer, public servant and private employee	-.201	.082	-1.052	p ≤ .294

Respondents who have fathers and mothers with university level of education are more likely to have less positive attitudes towards the importance of conforming behaviour to *adat*, compared to respondents whose fathers and mothers have any other level of education. It is the same with respondents whose fathers are self-employed: they are more likely to have more positive attitudes towards the importance of conforming behaviour to *adat*, while respondents whose fathers are other than self-employed are less likely to have positive attitudes towards the importance of conforming behaviour to *adat*. Mother's occupation has no significant effect on this variable.

### 6.3.7 The importance of being attached to and preserving Minangkabau traditional culture

In this linear regression analysis, the independent variables entered into the equation are the same as the independent variables entered in the previous sections. The dependent variable is respondents’ attitudes towards the importance of being attached to and preserving Minangkabau traditional culture. The result shows that only the independent variable of father’s level of education has a significant effect

on the dependent variable (see Test 19 Appendix III and Table 6.12 on the next page).

Respondents who have fathers with university level of education are more likely to have less positive attitudes towards the importance of being attached to and preserving traditional Minangkabau culture, compared to respondents whose fathers have any other level of education.

Table 6.12: Regression Analyses on the Dependent Variable: Respondents' Attitudes towards the Importance of being attached to and Preserving Traditional Minangkabau Culture

Independent variables	Regression Coefficient	SE	t	Level of Significance
Father university	-.558	.242	-2.310*	$p \leq .022$
Mother university	-.185	.246	-.752	$p \leq .453$
Father self-employed	.260	.187	1.394	$p \leq .165$
Mother self-employed	.056	.202	.278	$p \leq .781$
Mother employer, public servant and private employee	-.174	.229	-.760	$p \leq .448$

### 6.3.8 Support for traditional Minangkabau culture

The effect of socio-economic background on the respondents' support for the practice of traditional Minangkabau culture was examined by using similar independent variables to those used in the previous linear regression analyses models. The result reveals that the independent variables (father's level of education, father's type of occupation and mother's type of occupation) have significant effects on the dependent variable (respondents' attitudes towards practices indicating support for traditional Minangkabau culture) (see Test 20 Appendix III and Table 6.13). Mother's level of education has no significant effect.

Table 6.13: Regression Analyses on the Dependent Variable: Respondents' Support for the Practice of Traditional Minangkabau Culture

Independent variables	Regression Coefficient	SE	t	Level of Significance
Father university	-.437	.194	-2.551*	$p \leq .026$
Mother university	-.252	.197	-1.274	$p \leq .204$
Father self-employed	.610	.150	4.067*	$p \leq .000$
Mother self-employed	.114	.162	.702	$p \leq .484$
Mother employer, public servant and private employee	-.622	.184	-3.390*	$p \leq .001$

Respondents whose fathers have university level of education and whose mothers are private employee or public servant are more likely to have less support for the practice of traditional Minangkabau culture, compared to those whose fathers have any other level of education and whose mothers are housewives or self-employed. It is the same with respondents whose fathers are self-employed: they are more likely to have strong support for the practice of traditional Minangkabau culture, while respondents whose fathers are other than self-employed are more likely to have less support.

#### 6.3.9 Attachment to Minangkabau community

In this linear regression analysis, the independent variables entered into the regression equation are also the same as the independent variables entered in the previous sections, and the dependent variable is the respondents' attachment to Minangkabau community. The result demonstrates that father's type of occupation has a significant effect. Other factors have no significant effect (see Test 21 Appendix III and table 6.14). Respondents whose fathers have university level of education are more likely to have less attachment to Minangkabau community, compared to those whose fathers have any other level of education.

Table 6.14: Regression Analyses on the Dependent Variable: Respondents' Attachment to Minangkabau Community

Independent variables	Regression Coefficient	SE	t	Level of Significance
Father university	-.106	.255	-.415	$p \leq .678$
Mother university	-.110	.260	-.423	$p \leq .673$
Father self-employed	.405	.197	2.053*	$p \leq .041$
Mother self-employed	-.271	.214	-1.267	$p \leq .207$
Mother employer, public servant and private employee	-.188	.241	-.780	$p \leq .436$

### 6.3.10 The importance of the role and responsibility of Minangkabau women

The effect of the socio-economic background on the respondents' attitudes towards the importance of the role and responsibility of Minangkabau women was examined by using a different model than the model used in the previous linear regression analyses tests. The independent variables entered into the equation are father university, mother university, father self-employed and three dummy variables (mother and father less than university level and father other than self-employed). The calculation can be seen in Test 22 Appendix III and the result is summarised in Table 6.15.

Table 6.15: Regression Analyses on the Dependent Variable: Respondents' Attitudes toward the importance of Roles and Responsibilities of Minangkabau Women

Independent variables	Regression Coefficient	SE	t	Level of Significance
Father university	-.456	.228	-2.001*	$p \leq .047$
Mother university	-.425	.215	-1.98*	$p \leq .049$
Father self-employed	.472	.172	2.747*	$p \leq .007$

From Table 6.15 can be observed that father's and mother's level of education, and father's type of occupation have significant effects on the respondents' attitudes

toward the importance of the role and responsibility of Minangkabau women. Again, respondents whose fathers and mothers have university level of education are less likely to have positive attitudes towards the women's role and responsibility as defined in Minangkabau term, compared to those whose fathers and mothers have any other level of education. It is the same with respondents whose fathers are self-employed: they are more likely to have positive attitudes towards the roles and responsibilities of Minangkabau women, while respondents whose fathers are other than self-employed are less likely to have positive attitudes towards the roles and responsibilities of Minangkabau women.

**6.3.11 Opinion on the importance of Minangkabau women having less gender characteristics**

In this linear regression analysis, the dependent variable is respondents' opinion on the importance of Minangkabau women being good Muslim, being wise, soft and tender in speech, being good at keeping a secret, thoughtful to others and liking to work hard). The independent variables are father university-educated, mother university-educated, father self-employed, mother self-employed and mother employer, private employee and public servant, and three dummy variables (father and mother less than university level, father other than self-employed, and mother housewife). The result reveals that no single independent variable has a significant effect on the dependent variable (see Test 23 Appendix III and Table 6.16).

Table 6.16: Regression Analyses on the Dependent Variable: Respondents' Opinion on the Importance of Minangkabau Women Having Less Gender Specific Characteristics

Independent variables	Regression Coefficient	SE	t	Level of Significance
Father university	-.425	.263	-1.618	$p \leq .107$
Mother university	.049	.267	.185	$p \leq .854$
Father self-employed	-.059	.203	-.292	$p \leq .770$
Mother self-employed	.023	.220	.107	$p \leq .915$
Mother employer, public servant and private employee	-.79	.249	-.317	$p \leq .752$



**6.3.12 Opinion on the importance of Minangkabau women possessing more socially presentable characteristics**

In this linear regression analysis, the independent variables entered into the equation are the same as entered in the section 6.3.11. The dependent variable is the respondents' opinion on the importance of Minangkabau women possessing more socially presentable characteristics (knowing how to behave in the proper way, being mentally strong, being modest, and being friendly). The result shows only one independent variable, father's level of education, that has a significant effect on the dependent variable (see Test 24 Appendix III and Table 6.17).

Table 6.17: Regression Analyses on the Dependent Variable: Respondents' Opinion on the Importance of Minangkabau Women Possessing Socially Presentable Characteristics

Independent variables	Regression Coefficient	SE	t	Level of Significance
Father university	-1.387	.436	-3.184*	$p \leq .002$
Mother university	-.728	.443	-1.644	$p \leq .102$
Father self-employed	-.518	.337	-1.540	$p \leq .125$
Mother self-employed	.367	.365	.1.008	$p \leq .315$
Mother employer, public servant and private employee	-.072	.412	-.174	$p \leq .862$

Respondents whose fathers have university level of education are more likely to have less positive responses towards the importance of Minangkabau women possessing more socially presentable characteristics (knowing how to behave in the proper way, being mentally strong, being modest, being friendly), compared to those whose fathers have any other level of education.

**6.3.13 Opinion on the importance of Minangkabau women acquiring characteristics that are considered to be more gender specific**

For this linear regression analysis, the dependent variable is respondents' opinion on the importance of Minangkabau women acquiring characteristics that are considered

to be more gender specific (being good at hiding a feelings, knowing how to manage the household and being good at cooking and sewing). The independent variables entered into the equation are father university, father senior secondary, father junior secondary, mother university, mother senior secondary, mother junior secondary, father self-employed, mother self-employed, mother employer, private employee and public servant, and four dummy variables (father primary, mother primary, father other than self employed, and mother house wife). The result reveals only the independent variable of mother's level of education (mother university and mother senior secondary) has a significant effect on the dependent variables (see Test 25 Appendix III and Tables 6.3.18).

Table 6.18: Regression Analyses on the Dependent Variable: Respondents' Opinion on the Importance of Minangkabau Women Acquiring Characteristics that are Considered to be more Gender Specific

Independent variables	Regression Coefficient	SE	t	Level of Significance
Father university	-.666	.574	-1.159	$p \leq .248$
Mother university	-1.362	.541	-2.516*	$p \leq .013$
Father self-employed	1.82	.369	.494	$p \leq .622$
Mother self-employed	.256	.359	.713	$p \leq .477$
Mother employer, public servant and private employee	-.334	.406	-.823	$p \leq .412$
Father junior secondary	.076	.367	.206	$p \leq .837$
Father senior secondary	-.358	.425	-.841	$p \leq .401$
Mother junior secondary	.135	.362	.372	$p \leq .711$
Mother senior secondary	-.906	.412	-2.200*	$p \leq .03$

Respondents whose mothers have university and senior secondary level of education are less likely to have a positive opinion on the importance of Minangkabau women acquiring such characteristics as being good at hiding feelings, knowing how to manage the household and being good at cooking and sewing, compared to those whose mothers have junior secondary and primary schooling.

## **Summary**

Most of the dependent variables addressing girls' attachment to Minangkabau identity – generally and gendered – are affected by father's and mother's level of education and father's type of occupation. Only one variable (support for the practice of traditional Minangkabau culture) is affected by mother's type of occupation. I will discuss implications of these findings in the following Chapter.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

The findings of the study in relation to the three research questions concerning Minangkabau identity were presented in the previous chapters. In this final chapter of the thesis, the findings are discussed further, the study's conclusions and limitations are identified, and appropriate recommendations are made within a structure consisting of eight sections. The discussion centres on what we infer from the findings about the research questions: (1) how strongly the girls in the study retain Minangkabau identity; and (2) how strongly the Minangkabau ideal of womanhood still influence these girls, and (3) what factors are associated with the girls' attachment to Minangkabau identity and to the Minangkabau ideal of womanhood. This Chapter begins by presenting the discussion of the findings of the Research Question 1, followed by Research Question 2 and finally Research Question 3.

#### **7.1 The strength of Minangkabau Identity**

This section discusses the findings on the strength of attachment of the girls' to the Minangkabau identity generally. It looks first at the strength of attachment of the girls towards the Minangkabau *adat*, followed by the strength of attachment to the traditional Minangkabau culture and attachment to the Minangkabau community.

### **7.1.1. The strength of Minangkabau *adat***

In spite of significant differences between the *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls in their identification of the importance of knowing Minangkabau *adat*, the first grade senior high school girls in this study are clear in their view that Minangkabau *adat* and knowing Minangkabau *adat* is very important in their lives. The mean score for the importance of *adat* is 3.78 and for the importance of knowing *adat* is 3.66, out of a 4-point scale. However, when it comes to the question of what aspects of Minangkabau *adat* they may hold to, then it is clear that not all aspects of Minangkabau *adat* are held strongly or even held at all by these girls. Some contradictions were also found in students' responses to the same issue. The following section will discuss which aspects of Minangkabau *adat* that are being retained.

#### **7.1.1.1 The Strength of Matrilineal System**

This study found that the importance of the idea of matrilineal system among the girls across the schools samples is not as strong as other aspects of Minangkabau identity, although some particular ideas of the matrilineal system still survive among the girls in two of the schools (*Rantau 2* and *Darek*). However, even among these girls, some particular ideas of matriarchy are not strong, when we take their responses concerning their own practices into account.

The idea of the role of father as *urang sumando* (guest) in his wife's house, which is central to the Minangkabau matrilineal system, is not rated highly among the girls across the schools' samples. In fact, only 9% girls said it was important that the role of father as *urang sumando* be practised in their own future lives. By contrast, across the schools, respondents show a high average score (3.59 – 3.72 out of a 4-point scale) on supporting the idea of father as the person most responsible for the

family income. This result indicates that the girls in all schools strongly rate the idea of the role of the father as provider.

The idea of the role of mother according to *adat* is still regarded as important by a majority of the respondents (61%). However, the *Rantau 1* girls differed significantly from the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls. The percentage for *Rantau 1* girls is 46%, and for the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls is 69% and 70% respectively.

If we take the idea of the mother in the family as the maintainer of inheritance, provider and decision-maker to be the heart of Minangkabau matriarchy, the *Rantau 1* girls show a significantly lower average score compared to the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls. The average scores for *Rantau 1* girls for the idea of the role of mother as the person responsible for maintaining inheritance is 2.55, for the role of mother as the person most responsible for family income is 1.39 and for the role of mother as the person who should decide what is best for the family is 1.51 out of a 4-point scale. For the *Rantau 2* girls, comparable score are 3.31, 2.97 and 2.61 respectively, and for *Darek* girls, they are 3.41, 2.91 and 2.76 respectively. The *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls show significantly stronger support for the practice of mother's roles towards family according to *adat* compared to the *Rantau 1* girls. In fact, their mean scores for supporting the idea of role of mother as a central pillar of the house is still high (3.38 for *Rantau 2* and 3.39 for *Darek*), while for *Rantau 1* it is already lower (2.16 out of a 4-point scale). It can be concluded that the survival of the idea of the role of mother according to *adat* is not strong, both in expression and in practice, among the *Rantau 1* girls, but is quite strong among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls. Nevertheless, support for the traditional role is heavily qualified even for these girls by the fact that they view the fathers as the person most responsible for family income.

The importance of the role of mother's brother (*mamak*) according to *adat* is weak.

There are only 22% who stated that the role of *mamak* is important in their lives. The decreased importance of this aspect of *adat* is significantly higher among the girls from *Rantau 1* than the girls from *Rantau 2* and *Darek*. There are only 7% of girls from *Rantau 1* who say that the role of *mamak* according to *adat* is important for their lives, while for the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls, there are 27% and 35% (respectively) who say it is important.

However, on the more telling variable of intended practice, – that is, the importance of the role of the brother in their future family – the *Rantau 1*, *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls show similar average scores, a very low average score. The average score for the *Rantau 1* on this idea is 1.03 out of a 4-point scale, for the *Rantau 2* is 1.13 and for *Darek* is 1.15. These scores indicate that the girls across the schools show nearly no support for the idea of brother's roles in their future family.

There is a discrepancy between the expressed value attached to role of *mamak* and intended practice, among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls. This discrepancy might be explained through a difference in the experienced role of *mamak* in the family and the role of *mamak* according to *adat*. Most of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls are from lower income families. What these girls meant by expressing support for role of *mamak* might be only an expression of interest in economic support. They need their *mamak* to support their family income because their parents are poor. In fact, the proportion of the girls from highly educated and white-collar occupation (private employees, public employees and employers) parents who value the role of *mamak* is significantly lower compared to the girls from low educated and manual occupation parents (see Test 26-28 Appendix III). However, in spite of the significant difference between *Rantau 1* and the other two schools, and between parental education and occupation, it can be concluded that the idea of the role of *mamak* in the family according to the matrilineal system is weak among all respondents.

From this study, it is clear that identification of the roles of father, mother and mother's brother according to Minangkabau adat is weak. The idea of father's roles towards the family according to *adat*, – father as a guest in the house, more responsible for his sister family – has been replaced by the idea or values, which are more consistent with a patriarchal system. In fact, the girls across the schools have strong support for the father as a person most responsible for family income. Perhaps the changing idea of the functioning of father may have brought about changing ideas of the role of the mother and mother's brother toward the family, most significantly among the *Rantau 1* girls. These girls strongly support the idea of father as the person most responsible for family income, and they have given lower or almost no support for the role of mother and father towards the family according to the matrilineal system. These girls also have given almost no support for the idea of the role of brother in their future family.

Among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls, patriarchal ideas about the roles of father has not had decisive effects on ideas of the role of mother in the family, but it has brought about changing ideas on the role of *mamak*. In spite of their strong support for the idea of role of father as the person most responsible for the functioning of the family, they also support the centrality of the woman in the production of family income and for day-to-day decision making. These girls have shown almost no intention of upholding the practice of the father's role as *urang sumando* and the brother's role in their future families.

The ideal of being married according to *adat* (married "back" to *bako* or *mamak*) is not in favour among the girls across the schools. Most of these girls regard this aspect of *adat* as not important for their lives. Indeed, the girls across the schools have shown their disagreement with the idea of marriage arranged by mother and *mamak*.



Several possibilities may explain why the idea of cross-cousin marriage and marriage arranged by mother and *mamak* is not in favour among the girls. One strong possibility is that girls have learned from school or from the media that marriage with a close relative could have a negative impact on their children. The girls' disagreement with the view of marriage as arranged by mother and *mamak* could be explained by such a marriage being regarded as out-dated by these girls. In contemporary society, a girl might feel ashamed if her parents or mother and *mamak* looked for her future husband. Prevailing peer culture might take it to imply that she was unable to find her future husband by herself. In addition, girls in contemporary society, including Minangkabau society, have more possibilities for meeting boys and establishing good relationships with a number of members of the opposite sex from which they can then choose their own future husband. In fact, there is no longer a prohibition on the Minangkabau girls marrying men from outside the *nagari* (village), even from outside of West Sumatra or outside of Indonesia.

Another aspect of *adat* which is not supported is the idea of living together in the big house (*rumah gadang*). Only 4% of 192 girls from three different schools say that this aspect of *adat* is important and none of them are from *Rantau 1*. Why living together in *rumah gadang* is not in favour among these girls could be explained by two reasons. Firstly, even in heartland Minangkabau society itself, living together in *rumah gadang* is not really common any more. Most of the Minangkabau families now live in separate houses (Abdullah, 1985; Naim, 1985; Schwede, 1991; Reenen, 1996; Firman, 1997). In fact, from the 192 girls in this study, there are only 5.5% who live in *rumah gadang*, the composition being 0.5% from *Rantau 1*, 1% from *Rantau 2* and 4% from *Darek*. The second possibility is the effect of the government's population policy, encapsulated in the slogan since the early of 1970, "having two children is enough, boys and girls are the same". It seems that these girls have observed this idea of nuclear family, which contradicts the value placed by Minangkabau people on a big extended family. In fact, the girls across the

schools mostly agree (94%) with the idea that having two children is enough, and most of the girls across the schools (94%) also give almost no support for the traditional Minangkabau idea that having more children means more fortune.

The attitudes toward living in *rumah gadang* also impact on the values regarding the role of father and *mamak*. They also have implications for the strength of Minangkabau kin attachments in respect of *mamak* (sister's brother) and *kemenakan* (sisters' children), and father. This study has found that the attachment of the girls to their father and *mamak* does not conform to expectations appropriate to adat relations. The girls across the schools feel far greater closeness to their father than to their *mamak*, whereas in traditional culture the reverse should be true.

Another important aspect in kin relationships in matrilineal system is *suku* (clan). Having to know what *suku* one's belong to is very important for the Minangkabau people. To be regarded as a Minangkabau by others, a person has to know what *suku* do they belong to. However, the rating "very important" of knowing what *suku* one belongs to is relatively weak among the girls across the schools. In fact, the mean score for all girls on their responses to the importance of knowing what *suku* one belongs to, is 2.44 out of a 4-point scale. This relative weakness is more significant among the girls from *Rantau 1* than the girls from *Rantau 2* and *Darek*. Among the *Rantau 1* girls, the mean score for the importance of knowing what *suku* one's belongs to is 1.96, while among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls is 2.66 and 2.74. It indicates that knowing what *suku* they belong to is not really important among the *Rantau 1* girls, but it is still regarded as quite important by *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls.

The relative un importance of knowing what *suku* one belongs to among the girls might be explained by the fact that the formal communities of modern Sumatran society such as school and workplace model the irrelevance of self-identification by

*suku*. Application forms for entry to educational institutions or employment no longer require the specification of *suku*.

#### **7.1.1.2 Observance of social proprieties**

The girls across the schools share the same views on the importance of the observing social proprieties according to *adat*. Most of them (89% of *Rantau 1*, 90% of *Rantau 2* and 100% of *Darek*) say that this aspect of *adat* is important in their life. However, when it comes to the willingness to maintain specific practices of this aspect of *adat*, differences occur among the *Rantau 1* girls compared to the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls.

Among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls, the three specific social proprieties investigated in this study, namely – knowing how to behave toward people of different positions, ages and sex, decorum in clothing, and being good at *basa-basi*; still remain strong. In fact, the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls show strong commitment to maintain these three specific behaviours of Minangkabau people in their daily lives. Their mean scores on these three items are high (between 3.49 – 3.67). However, among the *Rantau 1* girls, only knowing how to behave toward people of different positions, ages and sex, is still regarded as important with a mean score of 3.52. There is no difference between the schools on this item. The differences occur between the *Rantau 1* compared to the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls on the other two behaviours, decorum in clothing and being good at *basa-basi*.

Regarding decorum in clothing, the mean score of the *Rantau 1* girl is low (2.69), while among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls, the mean score is still comparatively high (3.62 for *Rantau 2* and 3.63 for *Darek*). The greatest reduction in mean score among the *Rantau 1* girls is in relation to *basa-basi*, one of the most significant characteristics of Minangkabau people, resulting in only 2.22 out of a 4-point scale.

It indicates that being good at *basa-basi* is already regarded as not really important among the *Rantau 1* girls. By contrast, among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls, being good at *basa-basi* is still regarded as important with mean scores 3.49 for *Rantau 2* girls and 3.54 for *Darek* girls. The differences in mean scores between *Rantau 1* and the other two schools on both items are highly significant.

It is not so surprising that the values of decorum in clothing and *basa-basi* is weaker among the girls from *Rantau 1* than among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls. The difference might be explained by the obvious influence of an urban environment. The *Rantau 1* girls, as city girls who live in a large and relatively pluralist community with facilities such as satellite TV, cinema, internet and news-papers are much more readily exposed to cultures other than their own. Many studies have been done on the impact of technology and mass media on the people's self-image (Ewen, 1988; Grodin, 1991; Gergen, 1991; Fiske, 1992; Simonds, 1992; Kellner, 1992; Lewis, 1992; White, 1992; Schichtenberg, 1993). Living in a such community, creates possibilities for seeing and observing the way people from other ethnic or cultural backgrounds dress, behave, and talk. Moreover, a lot of these girls come from middle class families (79%), which makes it possible for them to fulfil their desires to follow fashion. In fact, parental occupation and education do have a significant effect on the girls' attitudes toward the importance of conforming behaviour to *adat* (see Test 18 Appendix III and section 6.3.6). Girls whose parents have university level of education and white-collar occupation (private employees, public employees and employers), have less positive attitudes towards the importance of decorum in clothing and being good at *basa-basi*, compared to those whose fathers have low level of education and manual occupation. In addition, in a typical big city anonymity makes it possible not to care so much about one's presentation, or being concerned with what everybody else is doing, saying or wearing. This condition inhibits the social control of such behaviours.

Unlike the *Rantau 1* girls, the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls come from working class families and live in small communities far from the central city with its technological facilities. The girls from these two schools would have less means of fulfilling their aspirations to participate in youth culture, even if they had such aspirations. Furthermore, these *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls live in more homogeneous communities. In such communities, everybody knows everybody else and everybody seems to care about what everybody else is doing, saying and wearing. This condition makes social control over the moral values among the members much stronger. In addition, the sanctions for non-conformist behaviour are much stronger in such a community. The people still strongly hold to and maintain traditional ancestral values and they expect the members of the community to behave according to the value that they hold. If someone behaves differently from the rest, then this person will be regarded as a stranger. To be accepted within that community, a person has to follow the community rules.

Regarding *basa-basi*, the relative weakness of this behaviour among the *Rantau 1* girls and the retention of it among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls, might be explained along similar lines. In *basa-basi*, what people actually say is not exactly what they mean, think or expect, and people tend to say something not straightforward. This *basa-basi* might cost misunderstanding in communication, especially on the part of people who are not Minangkabau. The *Rantau 1* girls, who live in a more plural society, again have more possibilities of being influenced by other people from other cultural backgrounds with different cultural values. Some of these girls might have seen and learned the irrelevance of *basa-basi* in diverse situations and they might have observed the greater effectiveness of straightforwardness in conversation without full use of *basa-basi*.

By contrast, *basa-basi* is one of the appropriate behaviours among the traditional societies of *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls, like decorum in clothing. The people of these

societies expect all their members to express themselves in this mode in daily life. The girls of *Rantau 2* and *Darek* have learned a lot from their parents or their community in the use of *basa-basi*, and they are less influenced from outsiders than those the *Rantau 1* girls.

#### **7.1.1.3 Adat ceremonial**

Of the one hundred ninety two girls in this study, only 49% indicated that the practice of traditional wedding ceremonial is important, and also only 41% indicated that the practice of other *adat* ceremonials, such as the appointment of the *Pengulu* or *Datuak* is important. Traditional wedding ceremonies are much less important among the *Rantau 1* and *Darek* girls compared to *Rantau 2* girls (*Rantau 1* = 36%, *Darek* = 44% and *Rantau 2* = 65%). It is interesting that the greater commitment to the traditional position in this aspect of *adat* is not among the *Darek* girls but among the *Rantau 2* girls. One possible explanation is economic. The location of *Rantau 2* is close to two tourist sites called “Bungus Beach” and “Caroline Beach”. These beaches are quite well known among tourists from other countries or among people from other places in Indonesia. Thus, the traditional wedding ceremonial among the *Rantau 2* girls might be valued partly because of its value as a tourist attraction.

The *Rantau 1* and *Darek* girls by contrast might not see the advantages of retaining this ceremonial. The Minangkabau people know that traditional wedding ceremonial is expensive, time consuming and very tiring. In this sense, the majority of the *Rantau 1* and *Darek* might have seen that there is no point in maintaining the traditional wedding ceremonial, when they can conduct a simple wedding ceremonial with less cost and less time but with equal sacral significance.

Regarding other *adat* ceremonial, its importance is much lower among the *Rantau 1* girls compared to *Rantau 2* and *Darek*. Only 21% of the *Rantau 1* girls say that this

ceremonial is important, while the percentage of *Rantau 2* and *Darek* is 56% and 46% respectively – a very significant difference. The relative lack of importance of this ceremonial among the *Rantau 1* girls is not so surprising. In the pluralist society, the roles of *Datuak* or *Penghulu* in maintaining the ongoing functioning of the community no longer exists. But in a small homogenous community or village, *Datuak* or *Penghulu* still have an important role in maintaining the ongoing functioning of the community or village although their function have decreased (Firman, 1998) because some of their roles have been taken by the village government. As a result, unlike the *Rantau 1* girls, the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls still have some experience of the importance of the role of *Datuak* or *Penghulu*.

### **7.1.2 The strength of aesthetic traditions**

Over all, the girls who have participated in the study show high average scores on commitment to Minangkabau traditional culture. The average score for the importance of preserving for Minangkabau traditional culture is 3.56 and for being attached to Minangkabau traditional culture is 3.52 out of a 4-point scale.

But again, the results show that the average scores among the *Rantau 1* girls on these two aspects are significantly lower compared to the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls, while the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* scores are closer together.

However, the strongly expressed commitment to Minangkabau traditional culture is not followed by the girls' willingness to support the practice of Minangkabau traditional culture, especially among the *Rantau 1* girls. They have also shown less or no interest in maintaining aesthetic traditional Minangkabau culture in their own practice. In fact, this study found that the girls across the schools show very low percentages of involvement in Minangkabau traditional dance and music groups.

From the three items regarding practices that indicate respondents' support for traditional Minangkabau culture – namely using Minang language, wearing traditional woman's dress and being skilled in Minang oral discussion (*petatah-petitih*), only using Minang language is still regarded as important by the *Rantau 1* girls. The average score for this item is 2.70 out of a 4-point scale. The *Rantau 1* girls have shown a small degree of willingness to use traditional woman's dress (*baju kurung*) and to be skilled in *petata-petiti*. For wearing traditional woman's dress, their mean score is 1.49, and for being skilled in Minang oral discussion, their mean score is 1.40.

Among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls, these three aspects of Minangkabau traditional culture still remain quite strong, especially the importance of using Minang language. Compared to *Rantau 1* girls, the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls have shown significantly stronger willingness to maintain traditional Minangkabau culture in these three specific aspects. The mean scores for using Minang language for *Rantau 2* and *Darek* are 3.55 and 3.59 out of a 4-point scale respectively, for wearing traditional woman's dress it is 3.00 and 3.04 respectively and for being skilled in *petata-petiti*, it is 3.21 and 3.30 respectively.

The high score on the importance of using Minang language among the girls across all the schools is supported by the use of this language in their daily lives. Eighty-five percent of *Rantau 1* girls and all of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls (100%) use Minang language in their daily life. However, there is an indication that the survival of this language will decrease among these girls to about 60% in the future. This study found only about 69% of the girls participating in this study said they still want to use Minang language in their future families, while the other 30% prefer to use Indonesian language. There is no significant difference among the girls from the three schools on their language preference for the future.



In relation to Minangkabau traditional music, the girls' expressed support for Minangkabau traditional culture is not translated into their daily behaviours. In fact, listening to traditional music is not popular among respondents, especially among *Rantau 1* respondents. Among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girl, traditional music is still quite popular. These girls show quite high average scores (around 3 out of a 4-point scale) – significantly different from the *Rantau 1* score.

The difference between the *Rantau 1* girls and *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls might be because traditional music is rarely performed in the city, and there may not be many, or no such music group in the city. People also might be more interested in contemporary Indonesian or western music. In fact, the *Rantau 1* girls show a higher average score on the importance of following music trends and of listening to Indonesian or western pop music. In the more rural areas, however, traditional music groups can still be found and the people still like to play in them. Although not many of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls are involved in the traditional music groups, the fact that some are, indicates that traditional music groups are still alive in their area.

Regarding the involvement in Minangkabau traditional dance and music groups, the girls across the schools have shown low involvement, especially the *Rantau 1* girls. Only dancing groups are favoured, especially among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls. For traditional music groups such as, *randai*, *dulang*, and *saluang*; only a few girls from *Rantau 2* and *Darek* are involved and none of the *Rantau 1* girls are involved. This indicates that the girls have less or no interest in involvement in maintaining the traditional aesthetic Minangkabau culture, especially in traditional Minangkabau music.

### **7.1.3 Attachment to Minangkabau community**

All girls identified strong feelings of attachment to the Minangkabau community. They show high scores on feelings of love for the Minangkabau homeland and people, feelings of pride in being Minangkabau and in the achievement of Minangkabau people, feelings of support for Minangkabau products and feeling of responsibility for contributing to the prosperity of Minangkabau people. However, the scores among the *Rantau 1* girls on those items are significantly lower compared to the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls, while the scores among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls are closer together.

### **7.2 Attitudes towards the strength of the Minangkabau ideal of womanhood**

The majority (70%) of the girls from three different schools indicate that the aspect of *adat* relating to the roles of daughter is important in their lives. However, when comparisons are made, the proportion of the *Rantau 1* girls acknowledging its importance was significantly lower (55%) compared to the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls, while the proportion of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls was closer together (80% and 74% respectively).

The lower percentage among the *Rantau 1* girls in relation to the roles of the daughter is consistent with the lower average score on the importance of three aspects of Minangkabau woman's roles and responsibility (being responsible for the continuity of the generation, having motherly characteristics, and being a central pillar of the house) compared to the other two schools. There is a significant difference between the *Rantau 1* and the other two schools on these three aspects of role and responsibility of Minangkabau women. The *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls have significantly stronger attitudes towards maintaining the practice of roles and responsibilities of Minangkabau women compared to the *Rantau 1* girls.

On the central role of women in the matrilineal system – that is, the role of woman as a central pillar of the house – the mean score of the *Rantau 1* is very much lower compared to the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample (2.16 compared to 3.38 and 3.39). Again, these findings indicate that among the *Rantau 1* girls, the strength of the role designed for women based on the matrilineal system has decreased, but it is still retained quite strongly among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls.

Regarding attitudes towards the ideal characteristics of the Minangkabau woman, some characteristics such as being a good Muslim, being wise, soft and tender in speech, thoughtful towards others, good at keeping a secret, knowing how to behave in proper way, and being mentally strong, are still regarded as very important by all girls in this study. The mean score for these items are close to four out of 4-point scale. Other characteristics such as liking to work hard, knowing how to manage the household, being modest, friendly and caring, being good at hiding the feelings, and being good at cooking and sewing, are less highly regarded by these girls. The mean score for these items are close to three.

However, when each school is looked at, again, the average score for the *Rantau 1* on each characteristic of Minangkabau women is the lowest, the mean score for the *Darek* girls is the highest and the *Rantau 2* girls are slightly lower than the *Darek* girls. Among the *Rantau 1* girls, only characteristics as being a good Muslim, being wise and soft and tender in speech are regarded as very important, with the mean score around four. Among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls, most of the characteristics of Minangkabau woman are regarded as very important. However, from one-way ANOVA and Scheffe comparison tests, there are only four characteristics in which the mean scores of the *Rantau 1* are significantly different from the mean scores of the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls. These characteristics are, liking to work hard, being good at hiding the feelings, knowing how to manage the household and being good at cooking and sewing. There are no significant differences among the girls on other

characteristics.

The lower mean score among the *Rantau 1* girls on the characteristic 'liking to work hard' compared to the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls might be explained by the difference in their socio-economic background. Majority of the *Rantau 1* girls come from middle class families (79%). These girls might have no need to work hard in order to fulfil their needs, especially their basic needs. By contrast, the majority of *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls come from lower class families (89% and 78% respectively). It is obvious, especially among the lower class families in Indonesia, that in order to survive they have to work hard. Nothing could come easily among these girls.

The differences in socio-economic background among the *Rantau 1* and the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls can also explain why knowing how to manage the household and being good at cooking and sewing has decreased among the *Rantau 1* girls. It is common among middle class and upper class family in Indonesia to have one or several housemaids to look after the housework. As a result, many of these girls do not have to do any housework. In addition, there is an indication, especially in the city, that the value of a girl's intellectual skills has overtaken the value of their domestic skills in the marriage market.

However, it is different for people in the more traditional society, of the village where the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls live. Here people still value a girl's ability to do housework. No matter how strong her personal attributes, a girl will be less appreciated and less respected by others, especially by a mother who looks for her future daughter-in-law, if she lacks housekeeping skills. In addition, the people in the village are mostly of working class families, and they have no ability to hire a servant to do housework. All the housework will be done by the mother and daughters.

Regarding being good at hiding their feelings, a significantly lower mean score among the *Rantau 1* girls compared to the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls might be explained along the similar lines already provided earlier in the discussion. The *Rantau 1* girls, as city girls who live in a large and relatively pluralist community with facilities such as satellite TV, cinema, internet, are much more readily exposed to cultures other than their own. Some of these girls might have seen or learned the greater effectiveness of being more open and able to express exactly what they feel, like or dislike in relationships. By contrast, being good at hiding the feelings among the traditional societies of *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls is one of the importance aspects in relationships. A good woman in traditional Minangkabau society is the one who could hide and control her feelings, especially feelings of dislike or anger to her husband and to other people (Hakimy, 1994). The *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls might have learned and been told a lot from their parents and their community about this matter.

From the findings, it seems that all the aspects related to Minangkabau identity have become weaker among the *Rantau 1* girls compared to the *Rantau 2* and the *Darek* girls. What is the underlying factor at work here? Do the *Rantau 1* girls identify themselves less markedly in ethnic terms, more strongly as Indonesian, perhaps, than the girls from the other two schools? Or do they identify more as individuals rather than through any group culture? Have the socio-economic backgrounds of the girls, in terms of parental education and occupation, had an effect on the girls' identification as Minangkabau? The sections below discusses, firstly, the findings on the girls' responses to alternative identities (Indonesian or individualised identity), and secondly, the findings on the effect of socio-economic factor on the girls' attachment to Minangkabau identity and to the Minangkabau ideal of womanhood.

### 7.3 Attachment to Indonesian identity

In looking at girls' attachment to an Indonesian identity, variables have been clustered into four groups for investigation. These groups are, (1) girls' attachment to the Indonesian community, (2) girls' attitudes towards living in the kind of community advocated by *Pancasila*, (3) girls' sense of responsibility as Indonesian citizens, and (4) girls' support for roles advocated for Indonesian women.

In relation to the girls' attachment to the Indonesian community, this study found that all girls expressed strong feelings of attachment to the Indonesian community. They showed high scores on feelings of pride in being Indonesian and in the achievement of Indonesian people, feelings of support for Indonesian products and feelings of love for the homeland. The mean score for these items are above 4, out of a 5-point scale. Their feeling of responsibility for contributing to the prosperity of Indonesian people, feelings of love for Indonesian people and feelings of respect for other ethnic groups in Indonesia are slightly lower. For these items, their mean scores are below four. However, the mean score among *Rantau 1* girls is very significantly lower than the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls, on all the items in this cluster, while the mean scores among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls are closer together.

Regarding the girls' attitudes towards living in the kind of community advocated by *Pancasila*, (living in a united country, living in a caring community, living in a community based on mutual respect and living in a community which prioritised general above individual interests), all girls also showed strong support. The mean score for each item is above three out of a 4-point scale. However, again, the mean scores for *Rantau 1* girls for each of these items is lower than for the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls, especially on the items 'living in a caring community' and 'living in the community which prioritised general above individual interests', while *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls are closer together. For the item 'living in a caring community', the

mean score for the *Rantau 1* girls is 3.58, while for the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls is 3.80 and 3.87 respectively. For the 'living in a community which prioritised general above individual interests', the mean score for *Rantau 1* girls is 3.34, while for *Rantau 2* is 3.80 and for *Darek* girls is 3.74 out of a 4-point scale. The lower score on these items among *Rantau 1* girls may indicate that these girls place more value on the individual's interest than on the community interest.

Regarding a sense of responsibility as Indonesian citizens, five items were measured –namely: participating in decision-making for community, in social activities, in politics, in organizations, and going to war to defend the country. The findings show that most of girls across the schools (93% and 95% respectively) say “yes” that they have sense of responsibility for participating in decision-making for community and participating in social activities. The percentage of girls who say “yes” that they having sense of responsibility for participating in organizations, in politics and going to war to defend the country if it is needed dropped to 77%, 66% and 67% respectively.

By far the most interesting findings on Indonesian identity are the difference between *Rantau 1* girls and *Rantau2* and *Darek* girls on the sense of responsibility as a citizen, especially on the sense of responsibility for participating in organizations and in politics, and going to war to defend the country. For these three items, the proportion of *Rantau 1* girls who say “yes” that they have responsibilities are significantly different from *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls. The proportions of *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls are similar. The proportion of the *Rantau 1* girls saying “yes” that they have sense of responsibility for participating in organization is 55%, while for the *Rantau 2* girls it is 90% and the *Darek* girls it is 87%. For having sense of responsibility for participating in politics, the proportion of the *Rantau 1* girls saying "yes" is 45%, while for the *Rantau 2* girls it is 76% and for the *Darek* girls it is 78%. For having sense of responsibility for going to war to defend the country, the

proportion of the *Rantau 1* girls who say "yes" is 39%, and for the *Rantau 2* girls it is 84% and for the *Darek* girls is 78%. There is no difference between schools on the sense of responsibility for participating in decision-making and in social activities - all are high (between 88% - 99%). The sense of responsibility as an Indonesian citizen follows the patterns for attachment to Indonesian community and to *Pancasila* ideas - all are low in the case of *Rantau 1*.

So far, the *Rantau 1* girls consistently show a lower attachment to Indonesian identity compared to *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls. The only variable concerning Indonesian identity that the *Rantau 1* girls have in common with the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls is in their support for roles advocated for Indonesian women. Girls across the schools give high support for two items investigated in relation to the roles advocated for Indonesian women (working outside the home and also being a good mother [91%] and accepting the government policy on the family size "having two children is enough" [94%]). There is a low support for being a housewife and taking care of the family exclusively (8%); only being a career woman (4%); and the idea of "more children more fortune" (6%). These last three items are opposite in orientation to the first two statements.

These findings indicate that all samples have supported the ideal roles of Indonesian womanhood, which have been advocated by the government. Indonesian women are exhorted to be good mothers and career women simultaneously. These findings also indicate that the government program in promoting a small family with its slogan "having two children is enough" has been supported by these respondents. The old Minangkabau value about "more children means more fortune", seems to have been replaced by the new national value "having two children is enough". However, whether this is only the expression of support, or genuine internalised support, cannot be known from this study. The Indonesian PKK (*Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* = Family Welfare Movement) program is widely and explicitly advocated



in the community and so it is unlikely these girls would dissent from it.

Several findings emerge from this study. Firstly, it is clear that responses on Indonesian identity follow the same pattern as responses on Minangkabau identity. The *Rantau 1* sample again showed their lower attachment to Indonesian identity compared to *Rantau 2* and *Darek* sample, except on their support for roles advocated for women. For this variable, there was no difference between schools. The *Rantau 1* girls' lower interest in Indonesian identity particularly comes through in the cluster on responsibility, where the differences with the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls are very striking. Lower support for aspects of Indonesian identity might indicate these girls are less susceptible to group identities of any sort, which may account for their relatively lower interest in their Minangkabau identity. Secondly, the fact that they came last on issues of social responsibility might provide a reason why they are not interested in group identities, namely they are more concerned with their individual well-being than community well-being. Finally, the observations made in explaining their relatively lower attachment to Minangkabau identity also apply in the case of the Indonesian version: namely they live in a more pluralist environment, which is more highly resourced for access to trans-local identities and cultures. The next section presents the discussion on the findings regarding globalised identity. Do the *Rantau 1* girls identify themselves more as individuals rather than through any group culture?

#### **7.4 Attachment to globalised identity**

Seven characteristics of a globalised identity (having an equal status with man, not getting married early, having a boyfriend, following music trends, looking attractive, wearing trendy clothing and not caring what other people think) were investigated. The responses of the girls towards these seven characteristics are not very strong across all schools. Only the first item, having an equal status with men, has a mean

score close to three (2.79 out of a 4-point scale). Two other items, not getting married early and having a boyfriend, have a mean score slightly above two (2.35 and 2.48). The rest of the items, following music trends, looking attractive, wearing trendy clothing and not caring what other people think, have a mean score around two.

However, if each school is looked at, the mean score for *Rantau 1* girls is much higher -significantly higher- than the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls, while the mean score for the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls is similar, with the *Rantau 2* slightly higher. For the *Rantau 1* girls, the mean score is around three - a whole scale point higher, for *Rantau 2* it is around two and for *Darek* it is slightly below two.

Here we have the reverse of the findings for Minangkabau and Indonesian identities. Here the *Rantau 1* girls responded the most strongly to the attributes in question. Furthermore, what they are most strongly attached to, are the features of identity which are opposite to the underlying values of Minangkabau and Indonesian identities. The globalised items imply egalitarian gender values, indifference to traditional social proprieties and participation in cultural practices that are not local. May be there is a negative association between attachment to globalised identity and attachment to the other identities, Minangkabau and Indonesian. Globalisation suggests the reason for the relatively lower appeal of Minangkabau and Indonesian identity.

### **7.5 A summary of socio-economic effects on identity formation**

This study found that the socio-economic background – father’s education and occupation and mother’s education and occupation – do play a role in girls’ attachment to Minangkabau identity and to Minangkabau ideal for women. Most of the dependent variables related to Minangkabau identity and Minangkabau ideal for

women examined are affected by independent variables. Only four dependent variables - ‘girls’ support for the practice of ideal marriage according to matrilineal system’, ‘girls’ support for the practice of the role of father and *mamak* according to matrilineal system’, ‘girls’ feeling of closeness to mother and father’. and ‘girls’ opinion on the importance of Minangkabau women having less gendered characteristics’ (being a good Muslim, being wise, soft and tender in speech, being good at keeping a secret, thoughtful to others, and liking to work hard) - were not affected by independent variables Table 7.1 summarised the relationship of the independent variables on mothers’ and fathers’ occupation and level of education to the dependent variables on identity.

Table 7.1: Regression Analysis Matrix of the Effect of Socio-economic Background on the Girls’ Attachment to Minangkabau Identity Generally and Gendered Identity.

Dependent variables	Independent Variables				
	Father univ.	Mother univ.	Mother Senior sec.	Father self-employed	Mother Ep. PE & PuE
Support for the role of mother according to matrilineal system		(-)*		(+)**	
Support for the ideal marriage according to matrilineal system					
Support for the role of father and <i>mamak</i>					
Feelings of closeness to <i>etek</i> , <i>mamak</i> and to <i>bako</i>	(-)**			(+)*	
Feelings of closeness to mother and to father					
Attitude towards the importance of conforming behaving to <i>adat</i>	(-)**	(-)*		(+)*	
Preserving traditional Minangkabau culture	(-)*				
Support for the practice of traditional Minangkabau culture	(-)*			(+)**	(-)**
Attachment to Minangkabau community				(+)*	
Attitudes towards the role and responsibility of Minangkabau women	(-)*	(-)*		(+)**	
Opinion on the importance of Minangkabau women having characteristics which are less gender					
Opinion on the importance of Minangkabau women possessing socially presentable characteristics	(-)**				
Opinion on the importance of Minangkabau women acquiring characteristics that are considered to be gender characteristics		(-)*	(-)*		

Note :       \*\* = p ≤ .01  
              \* = p ≤ .05  
              Univ. = University  
              Ep, PE & PuE = Employer, private and public employee

Of these four independent variables, father's education and father's occupation have the greatest effect on the dependent variables. Almost all the dependent variables are effected by father's education and father's occupation. The second greatest effect is mother's education. For mother's occupation, only one variable: support for the practice of traditional Minangkabau culture is affected. (see Table 7.1).

We noted in introducing the exploration of factors associated with variance (Chapter six) that this thesis does not attempt to explain *why* the independent variables of school, parents' education and occupation have their effects. The thesis is concerned to *identify* the factors providing the differences between samples. The following discussion of the findings of section 6.3 of Chapter six – socio-economic factors – will therefore concentrate on looking at which independent variables are associated with particular dependent variables. This is in order to see whether patterns emerge which make it possible to suggest the distinctive influences of family circumstances. Any inferences from these interactions will be at the broadest level.

From Table 7.1, it can be observed which independent variables have a significant effect on which dependent variables. Father's level of education has a significant effect on the girls' attachment to *etek*, *mamak* and *bako*, attitudes towards the importance of conforming behaviour to *adat*, expression of the importance of being attached to and preserving Minangkabau traditional culture, support for the practice of traditional Minangkabau culture, attitude towards the importance of the role and responsibility of Minangkabau woman, and perception on the importance of Minangkabau women acquiring characteristics that are considered to be more characteristic of female gender (being good at hiding the feelings, knowing how to manage the household and being good at cooking and sewing). The girls whose fathers have university level of education are more likely to have less attachment to, support for, positive attitudes and perception toward these variables, compared to the girls whose fathers have any other level of education.

Beside four dependent variables which are not affected by father's level of education and also by other independent variables, there are three other dependent variables which are not affected by father's level of education. These variables are girls' support for practices of the role of mother according to matrilineal system, girls' attachment to Minangkabau community and girls' opinion on the importance of Minangkabau women acquiring characteristics that are considered more gender specific. Two of these three dependent variables (girls' support for practices of the role of mother according to matrilineal system and girls' attachment to Minangkabau community) are significantly effected by father's type of occupation. The other variable (girls' opinion on the importance of Minangkabau women acquiring characteristics that are considered more gender specific) is effected by mother's level of education. Actually, father's type of occupation does have a relationship with father's level of education (see the findings on Chapter four: highly educated fathers are more likely to be professional workers, and lower educated fathers are more likely to be manual workers).

Other variables which are affected by father's type of occupation are variables attachment to *etek*, *mamak* and *bako*, attitudes towards the importance of conforming behaving to *adat*, support for the practice of traditional Minangkabau culture, and perception of the roles and responsibilities of Minangkabau woman. The girls whose fathers are self-employed, are more likely to have greater support for, positive attitudes to and attachment to these variables, compared to those whose fathers are other than self-employed (public or private employees and employers).

The effect of father's level of education and type of occupation on the strength and weakness of girls' attachment to the core variables of Minangkabau identity and Minangkabau ideal for women might be explained along the line already provided earlier in the discussion. Fathers who have a university degree will have well-salaried, city jobs, and the economic and cultural resources for their children's

access to globalising influences. In addition, living in the city, it is less likely that *etek*, *mamak* and *bako* will figure significantly in the family composition. By contrast, fathers who have lower level of education, especially primary and junior secondary, are more likely to live in the rural area, have low incomes and lack resources for their children's access to globalising influences. These findings on the effect of the father's level of education and occupation on identity formation can be used to explain why the *Rantau 1* girls have less attachment to Minangkabau identity and to the Minangkabau ideal for women, compared to *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls. More than half of fathers of the *Rantau 1* (54%) have a university degree, compared to *Rantau 2* (1%) and *Darek* (4%). Of this 54% (36 out of 67 girls) of *Rantau 1* fathers who have university degree, 94% (34 out of 36 fathers who have university degree) are white-collar workers. By contrast, a majority of the *Rantau 2* fathers (86%) and *Darek* fathers (76%) have lower level of education (junior secondary and below), and most of them are self-employed.

Table 7.1 also shows that mother's level of education has a significant effect on the dependent variables. Variables in which mother's level of education has a significant effect are on the girls' support for practices of the role of mother according to the matrilineal system, attitudes towards the importance of conforming behaviour to *adat*, girls' attitude towards the importance of role and responsibility of Minangkabau woman, and girls' perception on the importance of Minangkabau women acquiring characteristics that are considered to be more gender specific (being good at hiding the feelings, knowing how to behave in the proper way, and being good at cooking and sewing). The girls whose mothers have university level or senior secondary level education likely to have less support for, attachment to and positive attitudes and perceptions towards these variables, compared to the girls whose mothers have any other level of education.

From Table 7.1 it can also be seen that there is only one variable which is effected significantly by mother's occupation. This variable is girls' support for the practice

of traditional Minangkabau culture. The girls whose mothers are employers or private and public employees are more likely to have less attachment to this variable, compared to the girls whose mothers are housewives or self-employed. As with the relationship between father's level of education and occupation, mother's level of education also has a connection with mother's type of occupation. Mothers who have university degree are more likely to be a public employee and mothers who have low level of education are more likely to be a housewife or self-employed.

The effect of mother's level of education on the strength and weakness of girls' attachment to Minangkabau identity and to Minangkabau ideal for women might be explained along the similar lines as the effect of father's level of education. Can these findings on the effect of mother's level of education and occupation on the identity formation can explain why the *Rantau 1* girls do less well in a strong valuation of these core aspects of Minangkabau identity, compared to *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls? Almost half of mothers of the *Rantau 1* (49%) have a university degree, compared to the *Rantau 2* (1%) and *Darek* (4%). Of this 49% (33 out of 67 girls) of *Rantau 1* mother who have university degree, 76% (25 out of 33 mothers who have university degree) have a career as public or private employees and as employers. These career mothers of *Rantau 1* may to be providing different ideals and models of female identity. By contrast, a majority of the *Rantau 2* mother (96%) and *Darek* mothers (75%) have lower level of education (junior secondary and below), and majority (83%) of *Rantau 2* mothers are housewife and 42% of *Darek* mothers are housewife and 32% are self-employed.

## **7.6 Conclusion**

From the study it was found that the girls across the schools were clear in their view that Minangkabau *adat* -the most distinctive feature of Minangkabau identity, and knowing Minangkabau *adat* is important in their lives. However, the findings of the

study have demonstrated that some characteristics of Minangkabau identity have significantly been rated very low among the girls across the schools. These characteristics are the role of father as *urang sumando*, the role of *mamak* in the sister's family, marriage will be arranged by mother and *mamak*, marriage back to *bako* or *mamak*, and living together in *rumah gadang*. All the girls across the schools showed little support or even no support at all towards the role of father as *urang sumando*, the role of *mamak* in the sister's family, marriage back to *mamak* or *bako* and living together in *rumah gadang*.

The central roles of the woman (mother) in the family as the maintainer of inheritance, provider, decision-maker, or in other words mother as a central pillar of the house, have also significantly decreased among the *Rantau 1* girls, but it still remains quite strong among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls.

In spite of there being evidence of the continuing value among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls of the idea of the role of mother as maintainer of inheritance, provider and decision-maker, the findings of this study also have demonstrated the presence of another value among all the girls toward the family. It seems that these girls have adjusted to the idea of the nuclear family which is practised in contemporary Indonesian society, where a family consists of mother, father and small number of children (two children), with the father primarily responsible for the family income.

Matrilineal kinship relationship is no so valued. The girls in this study do not feel very close to their *mamak*, particularly the *Rantau 1* girls. All of these girls feel closer to their own father than their *mamak*. To know what *suku* one belongs to is also not regarded as very important, particularly among the *Rantau 1* girls. But among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls it is quite important.



Good manners according to *adat* is the only aspect of Minangkabau identity that the *Rantau 1* girls adhere to quite strongly – although only in respect of knowing how to behave and to speak towards people of different positions, ages and sex. However, among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls, these three social proprieties (knowing how to behave and to speak towards people of different positions, ages and sex, decorum in clothing and being good at *basa-basi*) of Minangkabau people are still held strongly.

*Adat* in relation to wedding ceremonial and the appointment of *Datuak* or *Penghulu* is relatively less important across the whole sample. Again, the lower attachment to both aspects of *adat* ceremonial is much more significant among the *Rantau 1*. An interesting finding in this aspect is that the greater commitment to the traditional *adat* ceremonial is not among the *Darek* girls, but among the *Rantau 2* girls.

All girls express strong attachment to Minangkabau traditional culture. However, their strong expression is not followed by a strong willingness to support the practice of Minangkabau traditional culture, especially among the *Rantau 1* girls. Across the schools, the girls show very low percentages of involvement in Minangkabau traditional dance and music groups.

The only Minangkabau traditional culture that is still held quite strongly across the schools is the use of Minang language. But, there is an indication that the survival of this Minang language will decrease among these girls to about 60% in the future. The strength of traditional woman's dress and *petatah-petitih* is significantly lower among the *Rantau 2* girls, but still remain strong among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls.

All girls show strong feelings of attachment to the Minangkabau community, but the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls show significantly stronger attachment compared to *Rantau 1* girls.

The strength of the ideal characteristics of Minangkabau woman is strong among the girls across the schools, some characteristics are very strong. However, the influence of the ideal characteristics of Minangkabau woman is stronger among the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls than the *Rantau 1* girls, particularly in the characteristics which relate to woman's work in the house, managing the household and cooking and sewing. Having these two characteristics are not regarded as important by the *Rantau 1* girls, but they are still regarded as very important by the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls.

From the findings it is clear that almost all the aspect of Minangkabau identity and Minang ideal of womanhood are weaker among the *Rantau 1* girls, compared to the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls. In the investigation of girls' attachment to Indonesian Identity as an alternative identity, the *Rantau 1* girls also consistently show their lower attachment compared to the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls, except in their support for roles advocated for Indonesian women.

The lower interest among the *Rantau 1* girls in Indonesian identity is particularly evident in the issue of social responsibility. This phenomenon may indicate why the *Rantau 1* girls are less interested in the group identities: they are more interested in an individual well being than in a community well being. In fact, this study found that the *Rantau 1* girls are strongly attached to the more individual characteristics of identity – the globalised identity – than the *Rantau 2* and *Darek* girls.

In the investigation on the factors affecting the strength or the weakness of girls' attachment to Minangkabau identity and to the Minangkabau ideal for women, this study has demonstrated that parental education and occupation does have an effect. Speculating in the broadest terms why it has such an effect, the difference that education and occupation make to accessing globalising influences might be pointed to.

## **7.7 Limitations of the study**

There were some limitations of this study that should be noted. (1) The respondents of this study were only obtained from two senior high schools in *Rantau* and one senior high school in *Darek*, and only involved the first grade senior high school girls. The findings may limit the degree to which the study can be generalised. (2) Although the factor of socio-economic background was investigated in this study as influencing girls' self-identification as Minangkabau, how these factors influence the girls' identity were not identified. (3) This study only used one type of instrument, namely a questionnaire with closed items. Therefore, investigation of the meaning of the responses was not possible beyond observance of consistencies.

## **7.8. Educational implications**

It is clear from the study that elements of Minangkabau identity are weakened in one kind of school context, namely in school populations which both reflect and reinforce globalising influences. But there is a question which needs to be addressed before deciding on compensatory or remedial measures. That question is this: Is such a weakening a bad thing? Let us attempt to answer that question. The first point to make is about identity itself. The literature review drew our attention to two aspects of identity that are relevant here. The first is that identity is a continuum between ascribed and achieved, that is to say, that an individual is a member of a group without necessarily choosing to be, but also that the personal significance of that membership *is* a matter of choice. In other words, self-identification certainly has to include a subjective assent to a group identity. The second aspect of identity that is relevant is the view of theorists that identity is inherently unstable, temporal, context specific and multiple; and that it is functional in so far as it partakes of these qualities. This view of identity would seem to be

incompatible with the construction of an overriding identity prescribed by membership of a particular group.

In view of these features of identity, should a state system of education induct pupils into membership of a particular ethnic culture? Or should it remain uninvolved as regards the promotion of group identities?

There are particular issues with Minangkabau identity that complicate this question. The first issue is that Minangkabau identity is based on a very specific set of roles for males and females. They are roles that include economic prescriptions for members of both sexes. They include a typology of female characteristics that, like other gendered identities, emphasis both female value and dependence at the same time - the female has status to the extent that she conforms to a family-centred way of life. It is precisely these family-centred characteristics that the girls at *Rantau 1* are more resistant to than to other features of Minangkabau identity. On the other hand, there are specific institutions in the Minangkabau *adat* that give women more power than do most other gendered identities – power over the distribution of family assets, landholding rights, and the rights to consultation. In the wider, more patriarchal society of Indonesia, these are empowering traditions that one might want to reinforce in the interests of gender equality. Finally, there are cultural aspects of Minangkabau identity that are threatened with disappearance and yet should be preserved for their historical and cultural value. Into this category would fall language, music, performing arts, *basa-basi*, *petatah-petatih*. Across all the school samples, the practical commitment to Minangkabau cultural forms had the lowest degree of support. In so far as an education system is there to serve the community, there is a natural expectation that it should be the means of such cultural preservation.

Perhaps the solution to the dilemma of whether schools should or should not promote group identities is one that recognizes the need for assent, the need for choice and mobility in self-image, and therefore would make any provision of a cultural curriculum an elective option.

One argument supporting the provision of a cultural curriculum – elective or otherwise – is that strong group identity is connected in the research literature with participation in the community. It is very interesting that it was the *Rantau 1* girls who were relatively weaker on group identities and on participation. This relative weakness extended to their commitment to national identity as well as Minangkabau identity. And yet these girls, because of their privileged backgrounds and the cultural resources they enjoy, are in a position to contribute to the good of the community in ways that others are not. They belong to the leadership elite in Indonesia. The state needs to concern itself with developing the attachment of such students to the community's interest.

In view of the foregoing, the recommendation that would arise from this study for curriculum policy makers would be firstly, to focus cultural maintenance through enhancing public interest in the existing arts curriculum in West Sumatran schools that features Minangkabau content, and resourcing it far more adequately than at present; secondly, along side this enhanced support and status, the development of curricular approaches to it which included the academic study of identity formation and its role in community and national life so that students' critical awareness of its societal functions could influence their choice in self-identification.

#### **7.8.2 Recommendation for future research**

This study has investigated the strength of Minangkabau identity among the first grade senior high school girls by a quantitative questionnaire only. There are many

other techniques, including deep interview and observation, which are needed to gain a more sufficient understanding about girls' self-identification as Minangkabau.

Investigation of the effect of girls' socio-economic backgrounds, in terms of parental education and occupation, on the girls' self-identification as Minangkabau showed significant results. The socio-economic study of background factors need to be expanded by consideration of the school environment. Because of the educational implications of this study, further research should focus on the school environment as being able to compensate for the disembedding effects of living in the city and access to globalising resources. It should look at the school-community relationships, at whether the curriculum supports or competes with attachment to ethnic identity, the sort of history that the students learn, and the kinds of extra curricular activity that school can provide for the students.

Finally, as noted in Chapter two, identity is a product of interactions between individuals and their physical, social and cultural environment (Kitzinger, 1992; Liebkind, 1992). The physical, social and cultural environment in which an individual interacts is always susceptible to change (Zukin, 1992; Welch & McCarroll, 1993; Fornas, 1995; Grodin & Lindlof, 1996; Giard, 1997) and individuals themselves are not static entities, their identity might change (Cottone, 1992). As Kellner (1992) notes, one can choose and make – and then remake – one's identity as fashion and life possibilities change and expand; thus, a longitudinal study on the girls' self-identification as Minangkabau and also the girls' attachment to other social identities, or to a globalised identity is needed.

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**APENDIX I: RESEARCH INSTRUMENT**

**A. Students Background**

A1      Name of the school      : .....

A2      Year of birth                : .....

**B. Family background**

**B1      What is your parents’ educational level? Circle one suitable number**

	Father	Mother
Highest Primary	1	1
Highest Junior Secondary	2	2
Highest Junior Secondary	3	3
Highest Tertiary (University)	4	4

**B2      What type is your father’s occupation? Circle one suitable number**

- 1. Self-employed
- 2. Employer
- 3. Private employee
- 4. Public employee
- 5. House worker (housewife)

**B3      What type is your mother’s occupation? Circle one suitable number**

- 1. Self-employed
- 2. Employer
- 3. Private employee
- 4. Public employee
- 5. House worker/housewife

**B4      What language do you use at home? Circle one suitable number**

- 1. Indonesian
- 2. Minangkabau
- 3. Indonesian & Minangkabau

**B5 What type of house do you live? Circle one suitable number**

1. Regular house
2. *Rumah gadang* (traditional house)

**C. MINANGKABAU IDENTITY**

**C1 How important these item below in your life? Circle one correct number**

	Very	Important	N. really	Not Import.
The importance of Minangkabau <i>adat</i>	1	2	3	4
Knowing <i>adat</i> Minangkabau	1	2	3	4

**C2 Which aspects of *adat* do you think is important in your life? Circle one suitable number**

	Important	Not Important
1. Good manner according to <i>adat</i>	1	2
2. Roles of daughter according to <i>adat</i>	1	2
3. Roles of mother according to <i>adat</i>	1	2
4. Wedding ceremonial	1	2
5. Other <i>adat</i> ceremonial	1	2
6. Marriage back to <i>mamak</i> or <i>bako</i>	1	2
7. Roles of <i>mamak</i> according to <i>adat</i>	1	2
8. Roles of father as <i>urang sumando</i>	1	2
9. Living together in <i>rumah gadang</i>	1	2

**C3 How agreeable do you on these items below? Circle one suitable number**

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not really Agree	Disagree
1. Mother or daughter is the person most responsible for maintaining inheritance	1	2	3	4
2. Mother is the person most responsible for family income	1	2	3	4
3. Mother is person who should decide what is best for the family	1	2	3	4
4. Married will be arranged by mother and <i>mamak</i>	1	2	3	4
5. Marriage back to <i>bako</i> or <i>mamak</i>	1	2	3	4
6. Husband is only guest in the house	1	2	3	4
7. Mother's brother will play more role than husband	1	2	3	4
8. Father is the person most responsible for	1	2	3	4

family income

**C4 How close do you feel to the person below? Circle one suitable number**

	Vary close	Close	Medium	N. really close	Not close
1. To mother	1	2	3	4	5
2. To father	1	2	3	4	5
3. To <i>etek</i>	1	2	3	4	5
4. To <i>mamak</i>	1	2	3	4	5
5. To <i>bako</i>	1	2	3	4	5

**C5 How important for you to know what *suku* (clan) are you belong to? Circle one suitable number**

1 Very important      2 Important      3 Not really important      4 Not important

**C6 How important it is for you the following items?**

	Important	Not important
1. Knowing how to behave and to speak towards people of different positions, ages and sex	1	2
2. Decorum in clothing	1	2
3. Being Good at basa-basi	1	2

**C7 As *Minangkabau*, how important do you think these items below? Circle one suitable number**

	Very Import	Import	N. really Import	Not Import
1. Preserving <i>Minangkabau</i> traditional culture	1	2	3	4
2. Being attached to <i>Minangkabau</i> traditional culture	1	2	3	4

**C8 As *Minangkabau*, how important do you think these items below? Circle one suitable number**

	Very Import	Import	N. really Import	Not Import
1. Using Minang language	1	2	3	4
2. Wearing traditional woman's dress	1	2	3	4
3. Being skilled in <i>petatah-petitih</i>	1	2	3	4

**C9 What language do you want to use in your own future family? Circle one suitable number**

- 1. Minang
- 2. Indonesian
- 3. Minangkabau and Indonesian
- 4. Others .....

**C 10 Do you involve in these traditional cultural groups below? Circle one suitable number**

	Yes	No
1. Minang dancing group	1	2
2. Music randai group	1	2
3. Salawat dulang group	1	2
4. Saluang group	1	2

**C11 How often do you listen to these traditional music? Circle one suitable number**

	Often	Sometime	Rarely	never
1. Listening to the randai music	1	2	3	4
2. Listening to saluang music	1	2	3	4
3. Listening to salawat dulang	1	2	3	4

**C12 How strong do you feel to the items below? Circle one suitable number**

	Very Strong	Strong	Quite Strong	Not really Strong	Not Strong
1. Pride of the achievement of Minang People	1	2	3	4	5
2. Support for Minangkabau product	1	2	3	4	5
3. Pride in being Minangkabau	1	2	3	4	5
4. Love for the homeland	1	2	3	4	5
5. Love for Minangkabau people	1	2	3	4	5
6. Sense of Responsibility for contributing to prosperity of Minang people	1	2	3	4	5

**C13 As Minangkabau girls, how important do you think these Minangkabau woman's role and responsibility for you? Circle one suitable number**

	Very	Important	Not really	Not
1. Responsible for the generation continuity	1	2	3	4
2. Having motherly characteristics	1	2	3	4
3. Being a central pillar of the house	1	2	3	4

**C14 As *Minangkabau* woman, how important do you think to have these characteristics of *Minangkabau* woman below? Circle one suitable number**

	Very Import	Import	N. really Import	Not Import
1. Being a good Muslim	1	2	3	4
2. Being wise	1	2	3	4
3. Soft and tender in talking	1	2	3	4
4. Being good at keeping a secret	1	2	3	4
5. Thoughtful to others	1	2	3	4
6. Knowing how to behave in proper way	1	2	3	4
7. Being mentally strong	1	2	3	4
8. Being Modest	1	2	3	4
9. Liking to work hard	1	2	3	4
10. Being good at hiding the feelings	1	2	3	4
11. Being friendly	1	2	3	4
12. Knowing how to manage the household	1	2	3	4
13. Being good at cooking and sewing	1	2	3	4

**D. INDONESIAN IDENTITY**

**D1 How strongly do you feel to these items below? Circle one suitable number**

	Very Strong	Strong	Quite Strong	Not really Strong	Not Strong
1. Pride in being Indonesian	1	2	3	4	5
2. Support for Indonesian products	1	2	3	4	5
3. Pride in the achievement of Indonesian People	1	2	3	4	5
4. Love for the motherland	1	2	3	4	5
5. Responsible for contributing to prosperity of Indonesian people	1	2	3	4	5
6. Love for Indonesian people	1	2	3	4	5
7. Solidarity with other ethnic groups in Indonesia	1	2	3	4	5

**D2 How important it is for you to live in the kind of community below? Circle one suitable number**

	Very Import	Import	Not really Import	Not Import
1. Living in the united country	1	2	3	4
2. Living in a caring community	1	2	3	4
3. Living in community bases on the mutual Respect	1	2	3	4
4. Living in a community which priorities General above individual interests	1	2	3	4

**D3 As Indonesian woman, do you think you have responsibilities to the following?**

	Yes	No
1. Participating in community decision making	1	2
2. Participate in social activities	1	2
3. Participation in organizations	1	2
4. Participation in politics	1	2
5. Going to war to defend the country if it is needed	1	2

**D4 What do you think about the following statements as the best way for woman to serve the country**

	Agree	Disagree
1. Working out side the home and being a good mother	1	2
2. Excepting ' <i>cukup dua anak</i> ' (having two children is enough)	1	2
3. Being a house wife and take care the family exclusively	1	2
4. Only being a career woman	1	2
5. Excepting "More children more fortune"	1	2

**E. Globalized Identity**

**E1 How important is it for you about these items below? Circle one suitable number.**

	Very Import	Import	Not really Import	Not Import
1. Having an equal status with man	1	2	3	4
2. Not getting married early	1	2	3	4
3. Having a boy friend	1	2	3	4
4. Following music trend	1	2	3	4
5. Looking attractive	1	2	3	4
6. Wearing trendy clothing	1	2	3	4
7. Not caring what other people think	1	2	3	4



# APPENDIX II: RESULTS OF THE ANALYSES OF THE DATA ON THE RESEARCH QUESTION 2

Test 1  
Oneway

Descriptives									
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Adat Minangkabau in your life	Rantau 1	67	3.73	.48	5.88E-02	3.61	3.85	2	4
	Darek	54	3.87	.34	4.61E-02	3.78	3.96	3	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.75	.44	5.20E-02	3.64	3.85	3	4
	Total	192	3.78	.43	3.11E-02	3.71	3.84	2	4
Knowing adat Minangkabau	Rantau 1	67	3.45	.50	6.12E-02	3.33	3.57	3	4
	Darek	54	3.81	.39	5.34E-02	3.71	3.92	3	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.75	.44	5.20E-02	3.64	3.85	3	4
	Total	192	3.66	.47	3.42E-02	3.59	3.73	3	4

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Adat Minangkabau in your life	Between Groups	.676	2	.338	1.842	.161
	Within Groups	34.693	189	.184		
	Total	35.370	191			
Knowing adat Minangkabau	Between Groups	4.843	2	2.421	11.995	.000
	Within Groups	38.152	189	.202		
	Total	42.995	191			

## Post Hoc Tests

Multiple Comparisons							
Scheffe							
Dependent Variable	(I) Name of the school	(J) Name of the school	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Adat Minangkabau in your life	Rantau 1	Darek	-.14	7.84E-02	.210	-.33	5.43E-02
		Rantau 2	-1.51E-02	7.30E-02	.979	-.20	1.67E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.14	7.84E-02	.210	-5.43E-02	7.87E-02
		Rantau 2	.12	7.74E-02	.280	-6.70E-02	9.12E-02
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	1.51E-02	7.30E-02	.979	-.16	3.68E-02
		Darek	-.12	7.74E-02	.280	-.31	6.70E-02
Knowing adat Minangkabau	Rantau 1	Darek	-.37*	8.22E-02	.000	-.57	-.17
		Rantau 2	-.30*	7.65E-02	.001	-.49	-.11
	Darek	Rantau 1	.37*	8.22E-02	.000	.16	.57
		Rantau 2	6.83E-02	8.11E-02	.702	-.13	1.23E-01
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.30*	7.65E-02	.001	.11	.49
		Darek	-6.83E-02	8.11E-02	.702	-.27	5.43E-02

\*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Crosstabs  
Roles of mamak according to adat

Test 2

Crosstab

Count		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Rantau 2	
Roles of mamak in the sister's family	not important	62	52	114
	important	5	19	24
Total		67	71	138

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.935 <sup>a</sup>	1	.003		
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	7.643	1	.006		
Likelihood Ratio	9.470	1	.002		
Fisher's Exact Test				.003	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.871	1	.003		
N of Valid Cases	138				

- a. Computed only for a 2x2 table
- b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 11.65.

Test 3

Crosstab

Count		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Darek	
Roles of mamak in the sister's family	not important	62	35	97
	important	5	19	24
Total		67	54	121

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14.452 <sup>a</sup>	1	.000	.000	.000
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	12.761	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	14.924	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	14.333	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	121				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.71.

### Test 4

### Crosstab

Count

		School		Total
		Darek	Rantau 2	
Roles of mamak in the sister's family	not important	35	52	87
	important	19	19	38
Total		54	71	125

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.029 <sup>a</sup>	1	.310	.332	.206
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	.669	1	.413		
Likelihood Ratio	1.024	1	.312		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.021	1	.312		
N of Valid Cases	125				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 16.42.

**Role of daughter according to adat \* School**  
**Test 5**

**Crosstab**

Count		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Rantau 2	
Role of daughters in adat	important	37	57	94
	not important	30	14	44
Total		67	71	138

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.966 <sup>a</sup>	1	.002	.002	.001
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	8.846	1	.003		
Likelihood Ratio	10.126	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.894	1	.002		
N of Valid Cases	138				

- a. Computed only for a 2x2 table
- b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 21.36.

**Test 6**

**Crosstab**

Count		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Darek	
Role of daughters in adat	important	37	40	77
	not important	30	14	44
Total		67	54	121

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.591 <sup>a</sup>	1	.032	.038	.025
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	3.813	1	.051		
Likelihood Ratio	4.671	1	.031		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.553	1	.033		
N of Valid Cases	121				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 19.64.

### Test 7

#### Crosstab

Count

		School		Total
		Darek	Rantau 2	
Role of daughters in adat	important	40	57	97
	not important	14	14	28
Total		54	71	125

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.680 <sup>a</sup>	1	.410	.517	.271
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	.370	1	.543		
Likelihood Ratio	.676	1	.411		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	.675	1	.411		
N of Valid Cases	125				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12.10.

**Roles of mother according to adat \* School**  
**Test 8**

**Crosstab**

Count

		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Rantau 2	
Roles of mother	important	31	49	80
according to adat	not important	36	22	58
Total		67	71	138

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.320 <sup>a</sup>	1	.007	.009	.006
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	6.416	1	.011		
Likelihood Ratio	7.382	1	.007		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.266	1	.007		
N of Valid Cases	138				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 28.16.

**Test 9**

**Crosstab**

Count

		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Darek	
Roles of mother	important	31	38	69
according to adat	not important	36	16	52
Total		67	54	121

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.088 <sup>a</sup>	1	.008	.010	.006
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	6.138	1	.013		
Likelihood Ratio	7.206	1	.007		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.029	1	.008		
N of Valid Cases	121				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 23.21.

### Test 10

#### Crosstab

Count

		School		Total
		Darek	Rantau 2	
Roles of mother according to adat	important	38	49	87
	not important	16	22	38
Total		54	71	125

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.027 <sup>a</sup>	1	.870	1.000	.515
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	.000	1	1.000		
Likelihood Ratio	.027	1	.870		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	.026	1	.871		
N of Valid Cases	125				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 16.42.

**Adat ceremonial \* School**  
**Test 11**

**Crosstab**

Count		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Rantau 2	
Adat ceremonial	important	14	40	54
	not important	53	31	84
Total		67	71	138

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	18.180 <sup>a</sup>	1	.000	.000	.000
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	16.722	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	18.767	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	18.048	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	138				

- a. Computed only for a 2x2 table
- b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 26.22.

**Test 12**

**Crosstab**

Count		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Darek	
Adat ceremonial	important	14	25	39
	not important	53	29	82
Total		67	54	121



### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.832 <sup>a</sup>	1	.003	.004	.003
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	7.708	1	.005		
Likelihood Ratio	8.874	1	.003		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	8.759	1	.003		
N of Valid Cases	121				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 17.40.

### Test 13

#### Crosstab

Count

		School		Total
		Darek	Rantau 2	
Adat cerimonial	important	25	40	65
	not important	29	31	60
Total		54	71	125

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.239 <sup>a</sup>	1	.266	.284	.176
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	.869	1	.351		
Likelihood Ratio	1.240	1	.265		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	1.229	1	.268		
N of Valid Cases	125				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 25.92.

**Wedding ceremonial \* School**  
**Test 14**

**Crosstab**

Count		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Rantau 2	
Wedding ceremonial	important	24	46	70
	not important	43	25	68
Total		67	71	138

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.573 <sup>a</sup>	1	.001	.001	.001
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	10.443	1	.001		
Likelihood Ratio	11.739	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	11.489	1	.001		
N of Valid Cases	138				

- a. Computed only for a 2x2 table
- b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 33.01.

**Test 15**

**Crosstab**

Count		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Darek	
Wedding ceremonial	important	24	24	48
	not important	43	30	73
Total		67	54	121

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.929 <sup>a</sup>	1	.335	.356	.219
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	.604	1	.437		
Likelihood Ratio	.928	1	.335		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	.921	1	.337		
N of Valid Cases	121				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 21.42.

### Test 16

#### Crosstab

Count

		School		Total
		Darek	Rantau 2	
Wedding cerimonial	important	24	46	70
	not important	30	25	55
Total		54	71	125

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.152 <sup>a</sup>	1	.023	.029	.018
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	4.360	1	.037		
Likelihood Ratio	5.169	1	.023		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.111	1	.024		
N of Valid Cases	125				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 23.76.

**Test 17**  
**Oneway**

**Descriptives**

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Mother or daughter is the person responsible for maintaining inheritance	Rantau 1	67	2.55	1.03	.13	2.30	2.80	1	4
	Darek	54	3.41	.53	7.25E-02	3.26	3.55	2	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.31	.89	.11	3.10	3.52	1	4
	Total	192	3.07	.94	6.79E-02	2.94	3.21	1	4
Mother is the person most responsible for family income	Rantau 1	67	1.39	.67	8.22E-02	1.22	1.55	1	3
	Darek	54	2.91	.96	.13	2.65	3.17	1	4
	Rantau 2	71	2.97	1.06	.13	2.72	3.22	1	4
	Total	192	2.40	1.17	8.45E-02	2.23	2.57	1	4
Mother is the person should decide what is best for the family	Rantau 1	67	1.51	.82	.10	1.31	1.71	1	3
	Darek	54	2.76	.89	.12	2.52	3.00	1	4
	Rantau 2	71	2.61	.98	.12	2.37	2.84	1	4
	Total	192	2.27	1.06	7.63E-02	2.12	2.42	1	4
Marriage will be arranged by mother and mamak	Rantau 1	67	1.13	.42	5.16E-02	1.03	1.24	1	3
	Darek	54	1.20	.53	7.18E-02	1.06	1.35	1	3
	Rantau 2	71	1.18	.54	6.44E-02	1.05	1.31	1	3
	Total	192	1.17	.50	3.59E-02	1.10	1.24	1	3
Marriage back to bako or mamak	Rantau 1	67	1.10	.35	4.32E-02	1.02	1.19	1	3
	Darek	54	1.24	.58	7.90E-02	1.08	1.40	1	3
	Rantau 2	71	1.23	.61	7.29E-02	1.08	1.37	1	4
	Total	192	1.19	.53	3.81E-02	1.11	1.26	1	4
Husband is only guess 'urang sumando'in the family	Rantau 1	67	1.03	.17	2.09E-02	.99	1.07	1	2
	Darek	54	1.15	.45	6.15E-02	1.02	1.27	1	3
	Rantau 2	71	1.11	.36	4.28E-02	1.03	1.20	1	3
	Total	192	1.09	.34	2.47E-02	1.05	1.14	1	3
Mother's brother will play more role than your husband in your family	Rantau 1	67	1.03	.17	2.09E-02	.99	1.07	1	2
	Darek	54	1.15	.49	6.69E-02	1.01	1.28	1	3
	Rantau 2	71	1.13	.41	4.88E-02	1.03	1.22	1	3
	Total	192	1.10	.38	2.72E-02	1.05	1.15	1	3

## ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Mother or daughter is the person responsible for maintaining inheritance	Between Groups	28.192	2	14.096	18.923	.000
	Within Groups	140.787	189	.745		
	Total	168.979	191			
Mother is the person most responsible for family income	Between Groups	105.729	2	52.864	63.887	.000
	Within Groups	156.391	189	.827		
	Total	262.120	191			
Mother is the person should decide what is best for the family	Between Groups	59.879	2	29.939	36.846	.000
	Within Groups	153.574	189	.813		
	Total	213.453	191			
Marriage will be arranged by mother and mamak	Between Groups	.158	2	7.905E-02	.317	.729
	Within Groups	47.170	189	.250		
	Total	47.328	191			
Marriage back to bako or mamak	Between Groups	.717	2	.358	1.289	.278
	Within Groups	52.533	189	.278		
	Total	53.250	191			
Husband is only guess 'urang sumando' in the family	Between Groups	.459	2	.229	1.984	.140
	Within Groups	21.854	189	.116		
	Total	22.312	191			
Mother's brother will play more role than your husband in your family	Between Groups	.506	2	.253	1.795	.169
	Within Groups	26.614	189	.141		
	Total	27.120	191			

# Post Hoc Tests

## Multiple Comparisons

Scheffe

Dependent Variable	(I) Name of the school	(J) Name of the school	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Mother or daughter is the person responsible for maintaining inheritance	Rantau 1	Darek	-.86*	.16	.000	-1.24	-.47
		Rantau 2	-.76*	.15	.000	-1.12	-.39
	Darek	Rantau 1	.86*	.16	.000	.47	1.24
		Rantau 2	9.75E-02	.16	.822	-.29	.48
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.76*	.15	.000	.39	1.12
		Darek	-.975E-02	.16	.822	-.48	.29
Mother is the person most responsible for family income	Rantau 1	Darek	-1.52*	.17	.000	-1.93	-1.11
		Rantau 2	-1.58*	.15	.000	-1.97	-1.20
	Darek	Rantau 1	1.52*	.17	.000	1.11	1.93
		Rantau 2	-6.44E-02	.16	.926	-.47	.34
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	1.58*	.15	.000	1.20	1.97
		Darek	6.44E-02	.16	.926	-.34	.47
Mother is the person should decide what is best for the family	Rantau 1	Darek	-1.25*	.16	.000	-1.66	-.85
		Rantau 2	-1.10*	.15	.000	-1.48	-.72
	Darek	Rantau 1	1.25*	.16	.000	.85	1.66
		Rantau 2	.15	.16	.641	-.25	.56
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	1.10*	.15	.000	.72	1.48
		Darek	-.15	.16	.641	-.56	.25
Marriage will be arranged by mother and mamak	Rantau 1	Darek	-6.94E-02	9.14E-02	.750	-.29	.16
		Rantau 2	-4.88E-02	8.51E-02	.849	-.26	.16
	Darek	Rantau 1	6.94E-02	9.14E-02	.750	-.16	.29
		Rantau 2	2.06E-02	9.02E-02	.974	-.20	.24
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	4.88E-02	8.51E-02	.849	-.16	.26
		Darek	-2.06E-02	9.02E-02	.974	-.24	.20
Marriage back to bako or mamak	Rantau 1	Darek	-.14	9.64E-02	.370	-.37	.10
		Rantau 2	-.12	8.98E-02	.406	-.34	.10
	Darek	Rantau 1	.14	9.64E-02	.370	-.10	.37
		Rantau 2	1.54E-02	9.52E-02	.987	-.22	.25
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.12	8.98E-02	.406	-.10	.34
		Darek	-1.54E-02	9.52E-02	.987	-.25	.22
Husband is only guess 'urang sumando' in the family	Rantau 1	Darek	-.12	6.22E-02	.167	-.27	3.51E-02
		Rantau 2	-8.28E-02	5.79E-02	.362	-.23	6.01E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.12	6.22E-02	.167	-3.51E-02	.27
		Rantau 2	3.55E-02	6.14E-02	.846	-.12	.19
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	8.28E-02	5.79E-02	.362	-6.01E-02	.23
		Darek	-3.55E-02	6.14E-02	.846	-.19	.12
Mother's brother will play more role than your husband in your family	Rantau 1	Darek	-.12	6.86E-02	.229	-.29	5.10E-02
		Rantau 2	-9.69E-02	6.39E-02	.319	-.25	6.08E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.12	6.86E-02	.229	-5.10E-02	.29
		Rantau 2	2.14E-02	6.78E-02	.951	-.15	.19
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	9.69E-02	6.39E-02	.319	-6.08E-02	.25
		Darek	-2.14E-02	6.78E-02	.951	-.19	.15

\*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Oneway  
Test 18

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Mother	Rantau 1	67	4.90	.35	4.32E-02	4.81	4.98	3	5
	Darek	54	4.85	.36	4.88E-02	4.75	4.95	4	5
	Rantau 2	71	4.82	.46	5.42E-02	4.71	4.93	3	5
	Total	192	4.85	.40	2.86E-02	4.80	4.91	3	5
Father	Rantau 1	67	4.69	.72	8.82E-02	4.51	4.86	2	5
	Darek	54	4.50	.97	.13	4.24	4.76	1	5
	Rantau 2	71	4.55	.73	8.70E-02	4.38	4.72	1	5
	Total	192	4.58	.80	5.78E-02	4.47	4.70	1	5
Mamak	Rantau 1	67	3.16	.90	.11	2.95	3.38	1	5
	Darek	54	3.72	1.07	.15	3.43	4.01	1	5
	Rantau 2	71	3.61	.96	.11	3.38	3.83	1	5
	Total	192	3.48	1.00	7.20E-02	3.34	3.63	1	5
Etek	Rantau 1	67	3.30	.94	.11	3.07	3.53	1	5
	Darek	54	3.93	.97	.13	3.66	4.19	1	5
	Rantau 2	71	3.75	.89	.11	3.54	3.96	1	5
	Total	192	3.64	.96	6.93E-02	3.50	3.78	1	5
Bako	Rantau 1	67	3.16	1.04	.13	2.91	3.42	1	5
	Darek	54	3.20	.92	.13	2.95	3.45	1	5
	Rantau 2	71	3.31	1.06	.13	3.06	3.56	1	5
	Total	192	3.23	1.01	7.31E-02	3.08	3.37	1	5

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Mother	Between Groups	.213	2	.107	.679	.508
	Within Groups	29.703	189	.157		
	Total	29.917	191			
Father	Between Groups	1.171	2	.586	.911	.404
	Within Groups	121.495	189	.643		
	Total	122.667	191			
Mamak	Between Groups	10.968	2	5.484	5.791	.004
	Within Groups	178.985	189	.947		
	Total	189.953	191			
Etek	Between Groups	13.033	2	6.516	7.548	.001
	Within Groups	163.170	189	.863		
	Total	176.203	191			
Bako	Between Groups	.780	2	.390	.378	.686
	Within Groups	195.136	189	1.032		
	Total	195.917	191			

Post Hoc Tests

Multiple Comparisons

Scheffe

Dependent Variable	(I) Name of the school	(J) Name of the school	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Mother	Rantau 1	Darek	4.37E-02	7.25E-02	.834	-.14	.22
		Rantau 2	7.86E-02	6.75E-02	.509	-8.80E-02	.25
	Darek	Rantau 1	-4.37E-02	7.25E-02	.834	-.22	.14
		Rantau 2	3.50E-02	7.16E-02	.888	-.14	.21
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	-7.86E-02	6.75E-02	.509	-.25	8.80E-02
		Darek	-3.50E-02	7.16E-02	.888	-.21	.14
Father	Rantau 1	Darek	.19	.15	.447	-.18	.55
		Rantau 2	.14	.14	.604	-.20	.47
	Darek	Rantau 1	-.19	.15	.447	-.55	.18
		Rantau 2	-4.93E-02	.14	.944	-.41	.31
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	-.14	.14	.604	-.47	.20
		Darek	4.93E-02	.14	.944	-.31	.41
Mamak	Rantau 1	Darek	-.56*	.18	.008	-1.00	-.12
		Rantau 2	-.44*	.17	.031	-.85	-3.25E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.56*	.18	.008	.12	1.00
		Rantau 2	.12	.18	.803	-.32	.55
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.44*	.17	.031	3.25E-02	.85
		Darek	-.12	.18	.803	-.55	.32
Etek	Rantau 1	Darek	-.63*	.17	.001	-1.05	-.21
		Rantau 2	-.45*	.16	.020	-.84	-5.75E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.63*	.17	.001	.21	1.05
		Rantau 2	.18	.17	.565	-.23	.59
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.45*	.16	.020	5.75E-02	.84
		Darek	-.18	.17	.565	-.59	.23
Bako	Rantau 1	Darek	-3.95E-02	.19	.978	-.50	.42
		Rantau 2	-.15	.17	.702	-.57	.28
	Darek	Rantau 1	3.95E-02	.19	.978	-.42	.50
		Rantau 2	-.11	.18	.846	-.56	.35
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.15	.17	.702	-.28	.57
		Darek	.11	.18	.846	-.35	.56

\*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Oneway

Test 19

Descriptives

Suku (clan)

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Rantau 1	67	1.96	1.01	.12	1.71	2.20	1	4
Darek	54	2.74	.97	.13	2.47	3.01	1	4
Rantau 2	71	2.66	.92	.11	2.44	2.88	1	4
Total	192	2.44	1.03	7.41E-02	2.29	2.58	1	4

ANOVA

Suku (clan)

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	24.127	2	12.063	12.872	.000
Within Groups	177.123	189	.937		
Total	201.250	191			



Post Hoc Tests

Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: Suku (clan)  
Scheffe

(I) Name of the school	(J) Name of the school	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Rantau 1	Darek	-.79*	.18	.000	-1.22	-.35
	Rantau 2	-.71*	.16	.000	-1.11	-.30
Darek	Rantau 1	.79*	.18	.000	.35	1.22
	Rantau 2	7.88E-02	.17	.904	-.35	.51
Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.71*	.16	.000	.30	1.11
	Darek	-7.88E-02	.17	.904	-.51	.25

\*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Crosstabs  
Decorum in clothing \* School  
Test 20

Crosstab

Count		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Rantau 2	
Decorum in clothing	not important	10	1	11
	not really	8	2	10
	important	42	20	62
	very important	7	48	55
Total		67	71	138

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	49.259 <sup>a</sup>	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	54.583	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	39.102	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	138		

a. 1 cells (12.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.86.

Test 21

Crosstab

Count		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Darek	
Decorum in clothing	not important	10		10
	not really	8	1	9
	important	42	18	60
	very important	7	35	42
Total		67	54	121

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	42.809 <sup>a</sup>	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	48.912	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	35.614	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	121		

a. 3 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.02.

### Test 22

#### Crosstab

Count

		School		Total
		Darek	Rantau 2	
Decorum in clothing	not important		1	1
	not really important	1	2	3
	important	18	20	38
	very important	35	48	83
Total		54	71	125

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.185 <sup>a</sup>	3	.757
Likelihood Ratio	1.557	3	.669
Linear-by-Linear Association	.009	1	.924
N of Valid Cases	125		

a. 4 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .43.

### Good at basa-basi \* School

### Test 23

#### Crosstab

Count

		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Rantau 2	
Good at basa-basi	not important	26	1	27
	not really important	7	3	10
	important	27	27	54
	very important	7	40	47
Total		67	71	138

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	47.843 <sup>a</sup>	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	56.001	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	46.689	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	138		

a. 1 cells (12.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.86.

Test 24

Crosstab

Count		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Darek	
Good at basa-basi	not important	26		26
	not really	7	2	9
	important	27	21	48
	very important	7	31	38
Total		67	54	121

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	43.794 <sup>a</sup>	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	54.711	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	42.197	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	121		

a. 2 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.02.

Test 25

Crosstab

Count		School		Total
		Darek	Rantau 2	
Good at basa-basi	not important		1	1
	not really	2	3	5
	important	21	27	48
	very important	31	40	71
Total		54	71	125

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.794 <sup>a</sup>	3	.851
Likelihood Ratio	1.164	3	.762
Linear-by-Linear Association	.156	1	.692
N of Valid Cases	125		

a. 4 cells (50.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .43.

Oneway  
Test 26

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Preserving Minangkabau culture	Rantau 1	67	3.36	.48	5.90E-02	3.24	3.48	3	4
	Darek	54	3.72	.45	6.15E-02	3.60	3.85	3	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.63	.49	5.76E-02	3.52	3.75	3	4
	Total	192	3.56	.50	3.59E-02	3.49	3.63	3	4
Being attached to the traditional Minang culture	Rantau 1	67	3.24	.58	7.08E-02	3.10	3.38	1	4
	Darek	54	3.69	.47	6.38E-02	3.56	3.81	3	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.65	.48	5.71E-02	3.53	3.76	3	4
	Total	192	3.52	.55	3.98E-02	3.44	3.59	1	4

## ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Preserving Minangkabau culture	Between Groups	4.535	2	2.267	10.032	.000
	Within Groups	42.715	189	.226		
	Total	47.250	191			
Being attached to the traditional Minang culture	Between Groups	7.929	2	3.964	14.978	.000
	Within Groups	50.024	189	.265		
	Total	57.953	191			

## Post Hoc Tests

## Multiple Comparisons

Scheffe

Dependent Variable	(I) Name of the school	(J) Name of the school	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Preserving Minangkabau culture	Rantau 1	Darek	-.36*	8.69E-02	.000	-.58	-.15
		Rantau 2	-.28*	8.10E-02	.004	-.48	-.7.58E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.36*	8.69E-02	.000	.15	.58
		Rantau 2	8.84E-02	8.58E-02	.589	-.12	.30
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.28*	8.10E-02	.004	7.58E-02	.48
		Darek	-8.84E-02	8.58E-02	.589	-.30	.12
Being attached to the traditional Minang culture	Rantau 1	Darek	-.45*	9.41E-02	.000	-.68	-.21
		Rantau 2	-.41*	8.76E-02	.000	-.63	-.19
	Darek	Rantau 1	.45*	9.41E-02	.000	.21	.68
		Rantau 2	3.73E-02	9.29E-02	.923	-.19	.27
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.41*	8.76E-02	.000	.19	.63
		Darek	-3.73E-02	9.29E-02	.923	-.27	.19

\*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

## Oneway

Test 27

## Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Using Minang language in everyday life	Rantau 1	67	2.70	1.02	.12	2.45	2.95	1	4
	Darek	54	3.59	.60	8.16E-02	3.43	3.76	1	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.55	.73	8.70E-02	3.38	3.72	1	4
	Total	192	3.27	.91	6.55E-02	3.14	3.39	1	4
Wearing 'baju kurung'	Rantau 1	67	1.49	.82	.10	1.29	1.69	1	4
	Darek	54	3.04	.67	9.14E-02	2.85	3.22	1	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.00	.89	.11	2.79	3.21	1	4
	Total	192	2.48	1.09	7.85E-02	2.33	2.64	1	4
Having skilled at petata-peliti	Rantau 1	67	1.40	.76	9.28E-02	1.22	1.59	1	4
	Darek	54	3.30	.69	9.39E-02	3.11	3.48	2	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.21	.67	8.00E-02	3.05	3.37	1	4
	Total	192	2.60	1.13	8.16E-02	2.44	2.77	1	4

## ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Using Minang language in everyday life	Between Groups	32.809	2	16.404	24.874	.000
	Within Groups	124.644	189	.659		
	Total	157.453	191			
Wearing 'baju kurung'	Between Groups	101.281	2	50.640	76.770	.000
	Within Groups	124.672	189	.660		
	Total	225.953	191			
Having skilled at petata-petiti	Between Groups	148.707	2	74.354	147.599	.000
	Within Groups	95.210	189	.504		
	Total	243.917	191			

## Post Hoc Tests

## Multiple Comparisons

Scheffe

Dependent Variable	(I) Name of the school	(J) Name of the school	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Using Minang language in everyday life	Rantau 1	Darek	-.89*	.15	.000	-1.26	-.52
		Rantau 2	-.85*	.14	.000	-1.19	-.51
	Darek	Rantau 1	.89*	.15	.000	.52	1.26
		Rantau 2	4.33E-02	.15	.957	-.32	.41
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.85*	.14	.000	.51	1.19
		Darek	-4.33E-02	.15	.957	-.41	.32
Wearing 'baju kurung'	Rantau 1	Darek	-1.54*	.15	.000	-1.91	-1.18
		Rantau 2	-1.51*	.14	.000	-1.85	-1.17
	Darek	Rantau 1	1.54*	.15	.000	1.18	1.91
		Rantau 2	3.70E-02	.15	.969	-.32	.40
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	1.51*	.14	.000	1.17	1.85
		Darek	-3.70E-02	.15	.969	-.40	.32
Having skilled at petata-petiti	Rantau 1	Darek	-1.89*	.13	.000	-2.21	-1.57
		Rantau 2	-1.81*	.12	.000	-2.11	-1.51
	Darek	Rantau 1	1.89*	.13	.000	1.57	2.21
		Rantau 2	8.50E-02	.13	.803	-.23	.40
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	1.81*	.12	.000	1.51	2.11
		Darek	-8.50E-02	.13	.803	-.40	.23

\*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

## Oneway

Test 28

## Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Music randai	Rantau 1	67	1.40	.55	6.75E-02	1.27	1.54	1	3
	Darek	54	2.80	.79	.11	2.58	3.01	1	4
	Rantau 2	71	2.86	.74	8.81E-02	2.68	3.03	1	4
	Total	192	2.33	.97	7.02E-02	2.19	2.47	1	4
Music saluang	Rantau 1	67	1.37	.57	7.00E-02	1.23	1.51	1	3
	Darek	54	2.85	.79	.11	2.64	3.07	1	4
	Rantau 2	71	2.94	.84	.10	2.74	3.14	1	4
	Total	192	2.37	1.04	7.51E-02	2.22	2.52	1	4
Music shalawat dulang	Rantau 1	67	1.37	.57	7.00E-02	1.23	1.51	1	3
	Darek	54	2.59	.96	.13	2.33	2.86	1	4
	Rantau 2	71	2.83	.88	.10	2.62	3.04	1	4
	Total	192	2.26	1.04	7.50E-02	2.11	2.40	1	4

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Music randai	Between Groups	89.196	2	44.598	92.151	.000
	Within Groups	91.470	189	.484		
	Total	180.667	191			
Music saluang	Between Groups	102.484	2	51.242	92.889	.000
	Within Groups	104.261	189	.552		
	Total	206.745	191			
Music shalawat dulang	Between Groups	81.814	2	40.907	62.010	.000
	Within Groups	124.681	189	.660		
	Total	206.495	191			

Post Hoc Tests

Multiple Comparisons

Scheffe

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
Dependent Variable	(I) Name of the school	(J) Name of the school				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Music randai	Rantau 1	Darek	-1.39*	.13	.000	-1.71	-1.08
		Rantau 2	-1.46*	.12	.000	-1.75	-1.16
	Darek	Rantau 1	1.39*	.13	.000	1.08	1.71
		Rantau 2	-6.29E-02	.13	.882	-.37	.25
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	1.46*	.12	.000	1.16	1.75
		Darek	6.29E-02	.13	.882	-.25	.37
Music saluang	Rantau 1	Darek	-1.48*	.14	.000	-1.81	-1.14
		Rantau 2	-1.57*	.13	.000	-1.88	-1.26
	Darek	Rantau 1	1.48*	.14	.000	1.14	1.81
		Rantau 2	-9.18E-02	.13	.791	-.42	.24
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	1.57*	.13	.000	1.26	1.88
		Darek	9.18E-02	.13	.791	-.24	.42
Music shalawat dulang	Rantau 1	Darek	-1.22*	.15	.000	-1.59	-.85
		Rantau 2	-1.46*	.14	.000	-1.80	-1.12
	Darek	Rantau 1	1.22*	.15	.000	.85	1.59
		Rantau 2	-.24	.15	.269	-.60	.12
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	1.46*	.14	.000	1.12	1.80
		Darek	.24	.15	.269	-.12	.60

\*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Oneway  
Test 29

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Pride in the achievement of Minangkabau people	Rantau 1	67	3.93	.99	.12	3.68	4.17	1	5
	Darek	54	4.61	.63	8.53E-02	4.44	4.78	2	5
	Rantau 2	71	4.58	.82	9.76E-02	4.38	4.77	1	5
	Total	192	4.36	.89	6.44E-02	4.23	4.49	1	5
Support for Minangkabau products	Rantau 1	67	3.88	.99	.12	3.64	4.12	1	5
	Darek	54	4.35	.80	.11	4.13	4.57	2	5
	Rantau 2	71	4.54	.98	.12	4.30	4.77	1	5
	Total	192	4.26	.98	7.05E-02	4.12	4.39	1	5
Pride in being Minangkabau	Rantau 1	67	3.79	1.07	.13	3.53	4.05	1	5
	Darek	54	4.39	.86	.12	4.16	4.62	2	5
	Rantau 2	71	4.48	.89	.11	4.27	4.69	1	5
	Total	192	4.21	.99	7.16E-02	4.07	4.35	1	5
Love for the homeland	Rantau 1	67	3.82	1.00	.12	3.58	4.06	1	5
	Darek	54	4.37	.90	.12	4.13	4.62	2	5
	Rantau 2	71	4.55	.98	.12	4.32	4.78	1	5
	Total	192	4.24	1.01	7.30E-02	4.10	4.39	1	5
Love for Minangkabau people	Rantau 1	67	3.51	.70	8.61E-02	3.34	3.68	2	5
	Darek	54	4.02	.88	.12	3.78	4.26	2	5
	Rantau 2	71	3.96	1.19	.14	3.68	4.24	1	5
	Total	192	3.82	.98	7.06E-02	3.68	3.96	1	5
Sense of responsibility for contributing to prosperity of Minang people	Rantau 1	67	3.48	1.05	.13	3.22	3.73	1	5
	Darek	54	4.15	.92	.13	3.90	4.40	2	5
	Rantau 2	71	4.10	1.11	.13	3.84	4.36	2	5
	Total	192	3.90	1.08	7.78E-02	3.74	4.05	1	5

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Pride in the achievement of Minangkabau people	Between Groups	19.419	2	9.709	13.820	.000
	Within Groups	132.784	189	.703		
	Total	152.203	191			
Support for Minangkabau products	Between Groups	15.473	2	7.737	8.755	.000
	Within Groups	167.022	189	.884		
	Total	182.495	191			
Pride in being Minangkabau	Between Groups	18.619	2	9.309	10.373	.000
	Within Groups	169.626	189	.897		
	Total	188.245	191			
Love for the homeland	Between Groups	19.474	2	9.737	10.455	.000
	Within Groups	176.021	189	.931		
	Total	195.495	191			
Love for Minangkabau people	Between Groups	10.019	2	5.009	5.485	.005
	Within Groups	172.601	189	.913		
	Total	182.620	191			
Sense of responsibility for contributing to prosperity of Minang people	Between Groups	18.076	2	9.038	8.380	.000
	Within Groups	203.841	189	1.079		
	Total	221.917	191			

Post Hoc Tests

Multiple Comparisons

Scheffe

Dependent Variable	(I) Name of the school	(J) Name of the school	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Pride in the achievement of Minangkabau people	Rantau 1	Darek	-.69*	.15	.000	-1.06	-.31
		Rantau 2	-.65*	.14	.000	-1.00	-.30
	Darek	Rantau 1	.69*	.15	.000	.31	1.06
		Rantau 2	3.36E-02	.15	.976	-.34	.41
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.65*	.14	.000	.30	1.00
		Darek	-3.36E-02	.15	.976	-.41	.34
Support for Minangkabau products	Rantau 1	Darek	-.47*	.17	.025	-.90	-4.71E-02
		Rantau 2	-.65*	.16	.000	-1.05	-.26
	Darek	Rantau 1	.47*	.17	.025	4.71E-02	.90
		Rantau 2	-.18	.17	.559	-.60	.24
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.65*	.16	.000	.26	1.05
		Darek	.18	.17	.559	-.24	.60
Pride in being Minangkabau	Rantau 1	Darek	-.60*	.17	.003	-1.03	-.17
		Rantau 2	-.69*	.16	.000	-1.09	-.29
	Darek	Rantau 1	.60*	.17	.003	.17	1.03
		Rantau 2	-9.00E-02	.17	.871	-.51	.33
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.69*	.16	.000	.29	1.09
		Darek	9.00E-02	.17	.871	-.33	.51
Love for the homeland	Rantau 1	Darek	-.55*	.18	.009	-.98	-.11
		Rantau 2	-.73*	.16	.000	-1.13	-.32
	Darek	Rantau 1	.55*	.18	.009	.11	.98
		Rantau 2	-.18	.17	.591	-.61	.25
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.73*	.16	.000	.32	1.13
		Darek	.18	.17	.591	-.25	.61
Love for Minangkabau people	Rantau 1	Darek	-.51*	.17	.015	-.94	-7.99E-02
		Rantau 2	-.45*	.16	.023	-.85	-4.87E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.51*	.17	.015	7.99E-02	.94
		Rantau 2	6.08E-02	.17	.940	-.36	.49
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.45*	.16	.023	4.87E-02	.85
		Darek	-6.08E-02	.17	.940	-.49	.36
Sense of responsibility for contributing to prosperity of Minang people	Rantau 1	Darek	-.67*	.19	.002	-1.14	-.20
		Rantau 2	-.62*	.18	.003	-1.06	-.18
	Darek	Rantau 1	.67*	.19	.002	.20	1.14
		Rantau 2	4.96E-02	.19	.966	-.41	.51
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.62*	.18	.003	.18	1.06
		Darek	-4.96E-02	.19	.966	-.51	.41

\*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Oneway

Test 30

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Responsible for the generation continuity	Rantau 1	67	3.12	.79	9.63E-02	2.93	3.31	1	4
	Darek	54	3.56	.50	6.83E-02	3.42	3.69	3	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.48	.58	6.91E-02	3.34	3.62	1	4
	Total	192	3.38	.67	4.81E-02	3.28	3.47	1	4
Having motherly characteristic	Rantau 1	67	3.13	.78	9.49E-02	2.94	3.32	1	4
	Darek	54	3.70	.46	6.27E-02	3.58	3.83	3	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.52	.69	8.24E-02	3.36	3.69	1	4
	Total	192	3.44	.71	5.10E-02	3.34	3.54	1	4
Being a central pillar of the house	Rantau 1	67	2.16	1.15	.14	1.88	2.44	1	4
	Darek	54	3.39	.81	.11	3.17	3.61	1	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.38	.72	8.60E-02	3.21	3.55	1	4
	Total	192	2.96	1.08	7.81E-02	2.80	3.11	1	4



ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Responsible for the generation continuity	Between Groups	6.904	2	3.452	8.354	.003
	Within Groups	78.096	189	.413		
	Total	85.000	191			
Having motherly characteristic,	Between Groups	10.481	2	5.241	11.685	.003
	Within Groups	84.769	189	.449		
	Total	95.250	191			
Being a central pillar of the house	Between Groups	64.907	2	32.453	38.635	.003
	Within Groups	158.760	189	.840		
	Total	223.667	191			

Post Hoc Tests

Multiple Comparisons

Scheffe

			Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
Dependent Variable	(I) Name of the school	(J) Name of the school				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Responsible for the generation continuity	Rantau 1	Darek	-.44*	.12	.001	-.73	-.15
		Rantau 2	-.36*	.11	.005	-.63	-8.93E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.44*	.12	.001	.15	.73
		Rantau 2	7.67E-02	.12	.804	-.21	.36
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.36*	.11	.005	8.93E-02	.63
		Darek	-7.67E-02	.12	.804	-.36	.21
Having motherly characteristic	Rantau 1	Darek	-.57*	.12	.000	-.87	-.27
		Rantau 2	-.39*	.11	.004	-.67	-.11
	Darek	Rantau 1	.57*	.12	.000	.27	.87
		Rantau 2	.18	.12	.322	-.12	.48
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.39*	.11	.004	.11	.67
		Darek	-.18	.12	.322	-.48	.12
Being a central pillar of the house	Rantau 1	Darek	-1.22*	.17	.000	-1.64	-.81
		Rantau 2	-1.22*	.16	.000	-1.60	-.83
	Darek	Rantau 1	1.22*	.17	.000	.81	1.64
		Rantau 2	8.61E-03	.17	.999	-.40	.42
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	1.22*	.16	.000	.83	1.60
		Darek	-8.61E-03	.17	.999	-.42	.40

\*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Oneway  
Test 31

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Being a good Muslim	Rantau 1	67	3.63	.49	5.95E-02	3.51	3.75	3	4
	Darek	54	3.74	.44	6.02E-02	3.62	3.86	3	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.73	.45	5.29E-02	3.63	3.84	3	4
	Total	192	3.70	.46	3.32E-02	3.63	3.76	3	4
Being wise	Rantau 1	67	3.57	.50	6.10E-02	3.45	3.69	3	4
	Darek	54	3.69	.47	6.38E-02	3.56	3.81	3	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.59	.58	6.83E-02	3.46	3.73	2	4
	Total	192	3.61	.52	3.75E-02	3.54	3.68	2	4
Soft and tender in speech	Rantau 1	67	3.54	.53	6.50E-02	3.41	3.67	2	4
	Darek	54	3.72	.45	6.15E-02	3.60	3.85	3	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.72	.45	5.38E-02	3.61	3.83	3	4
	Total	192	3.66	.49	3.52E-02	3.59	3.73	2	4
Being good at keeping a secret	Rantau 1	67	3.48	.50	6.15E-02	3.35	3.60	3	4
	Darek	54	3.63	.49	6.63E-02	3.50	3.76	3	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.58	.53	6.24E-02	3.45	3.70	2	4
	Total	192	3.56	.51	3.67E-02	3.48	3.63	2	4
Thoughtful to others	Rantau 1	67	3.46	.50	6.14E-02	3.34	3.59	3	4
	Darek	54	3.61	.49	6.70E-02	3.48	3.75	3	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.61	.52	6.18E-02	3.48	3.73	2	4
	Total	192	3.56	.51	3.67E-02	3.48	3.63	2	4
Knowing how to behave in the proper way	Rantau 1	67	3.45	.50	6.12E-02	3.33	3.57	3	4
	Darek	54	3.65	.48	6.56E-02	3.52	3.78	3	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.55	.58	6.89E-02	3.41	3.69	1	4
	Total	192	3.54	.53	3.83E-02	3.47	3.62	1	4
Being mentally Strong	Rantau 1	67	3.36	.64	7.87E-02	3.20	3.52	1	4
	Darek	54	3.61	.76	.10	3.40	3.82	1	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.58	.65	7.68E-02	3.42	3.73	1	4
	Total	192	3.51	.69	4.95E-02	3.41	3.61	1	4
Being modest	Rantau 1	67	3.27	.62	7.54E-02	3.12	3.42	1	4
	Darek	54	3.39	.68	9.31E-02	3.20	3.58	1	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.41	.58	6.83E-02	3.27	3.54	1	4
	Total	192	3.35	.62	4.49E-02	3.27	3.44	1	4
Liking to work hard	Rantau 1	67	3.18	.82	9.96E-02	2.98	3.38	1	4
	Darek	54	3.61	.53	7.20E-02	3.47	3.76	2	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.49	.50	5.98E-02	3.37	3.61	3	4
	Total	192	3.42	.66	4.75E-02	3.32	3.51	1	4
Being good at hiding a feeling	Rantau 1	67	3.16	.81	9.88E-02	2.97	3.36	1	4
	Darek	54	3.57	.57	7.75E-02	3.42	3.73	2	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.48	.67	7.99E-02	3.32	3.64	2	4
	Total	192	3.40	.72	5.17E-02	3.29	3.50	1	4
Being friendly	Rantau 1	67	3.15	.76	9.33E-02	2.96	3.34	1	4
	Darek	54	3.39	.79	.11	3.17	3.60	1	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.39	.64	7.63E-02	3.24	3.55	1	4
	Total	192	3.31	.73	5.30E-02	3.20	3.41	1	4
Knowing how to manage the household	Rantau 1	67	2.79	.79	9.64E-02	2.60	2.98	1	4
	Darek	54	3.78	.42	5.71E-02	3.66	3.89	3	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.62	.49	5.80E-02	3.50	3.74	3	4
	Total	192	3.38	.73	5.30E-02	3.27	3.48	1	4
Good at cooking and sewing	Rantau 1	67	2.64	1.11	.14	2.37	2.91	1	4
	Darek	54	3.67	.51	6.99E-02	3.53	3.81	2	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.39	.55	6.49E-02	3.26	3.52	2	4
	Total	192	3.21	.89	6.43E-02	3.08	3.34	1	4

## ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Being a good Muslim	Between Groups	.522	2	.261	1.234	.294
	Within Groups	39.958	189	.211		
	Total	40.479	191			
Being wise	Between Groups	.452	2	.226	.834	.435
	Within Groups	51.251	189	.271		
	Total	51.703	191			
Soft and tender in speech	Between Groups	1.456	2	.728	3.138	.046
	Within Groups	43.856	189	.232		
	Total	45.313	191			
Being good at keeping a secret	Between Groups	.737	2	.368	1.432	.241
	Within Groups	48.633	189	.257		
	Total	49.370	191			
Thoughtful to others	Between Groups	.922	2	.461	1.798	.168
	Within Groups	48.448	189	.256		
	Total	49.370	191			
Knowing how to behave in the proper way	Between Groups	1.207	2	.604	2.175	.116
	Within Groups	52.459	189	.278		
	Total	53.667	191			
Being mentally Strong	Between Groups	2.419	2	1.209	2.611	.076
	Within Groups	87.560	189	.463		
	Total	89.979	191			
Being modest	Between Groups	.764	2	.382	.987	.375
	Within Groups	73.152	189	.387		
	Total	73.917	191			
Liking to work hard	Between Groups	6.236	2	3.118	7.710	.001
	Within Groups	76.431	189	.404		
	Total	82.667	191			
Being good at hiding a feeling	Between Groups	5.801	2	2.900	5.951	.003
	Within Groups	92.116	189	.487		
	Total	97.917	191			
Being friendly	Between Groups	2.571	2	1.286	2.423	.091
	Within Groups	100.299	189	.531		
	Total	102.870	191			
Knowing how to manage the household	Between Groups	35.860	2	17.930	50.472	.000
	Within Groups	67.140	189	.355		
	Total	103.000	191			
Good at cooking and sewing	Between Groups	35.306	2	17.653	28.673	.000
	Within Groups	116.361	189	.616		
	Total	151.667	191			

Post Hoc Tests

Multiple Comparisons

		Scheffe					
Dependent Variable	(I) Name of the school	(J) Name of the school	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Being a good Muslim	Rantau 1	Darek	-.11	8.41E-02	.401	-.32	9.36E-02
		Rantau 2	-.11	7.83E-02	.405	-.30	8.77E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.11	8.41E-02	.401	-9.36E-02	.32
		Rantau 2	8.35E-03	8.30E-02	.995	-.20	.21
Being wise	Rantau 1	Rantau 1	.11	7.83E-02	.405	-8.77E-02	.30
		Darek	-8.35E-03	8.30E-02	.995	-.21	.20
	Darek	Rantau 1	-.12	9.52E-02	.465	-.35	.12
		Rantau 2	-2.44E-02	8.87E-02	.963	-.24	.19
Soft and tender in speech	Rantau 1	Rantau 1	.12	9.52E-02	.465	-.12	.35
		Rantau 2	9.36E-02	9.40E-02	.610	-.14	.33
	Darek	Rantau 1	2.44E-02	8.87E-02	.963	-.19	.24
		Darek	-9.36E-02	9.40E-02	.610	-.33	.14
Being good at keeping a secret	Rantau 1	Darek	-.18	8.81E-02	.113	-.40	3.24E-02
		Rantau 2	-.18	8.20E-02	.090	-.38	2.14E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.18	8.81E-02	.113	-3.24E-02	.40
		Rantau 2	3.91E-03	8.70E-02	.999	-.21	.22
Thoughtful to others	Rantau 1	Rantau 1	.18	8.20E-02	.090	-2.14E-02	.38
		Darek	-3.91E-03	8.70E-02	.999	-.22	.21
	Darek	Rantau 1	-.15	9.28E-02	.264	-.38	7.69E-02
		Rantau 2	-9.99E-02	8.64E-02	.514	-.31	.11
Knowing how to behave in the proper way	Rantau 1	Rantau 1	.15	9.28E-02	.264	-7.69E-02	.38
		Rantau 2	5.22E-02	9.16E-02	.850	-.17	.28
	Darek	Rantau 1	9.99E-02	8.64E-02	.514	-.11	.31
		Darek	-5.22E-02	9.16E-02	.850	-.28	.17
Being mentally Strong	Rantau 1	Darek	-.15	9.26E-02	.279	-.38	8.00E-02
		Rantau 2	-.14	8.62E-02	.256	-.36	6.98E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.15	9.26E-02	.279	-8.00E-02	.38
		Rantau 2	5.48E-03	9.14E-02	.998	-.22	.23
Liking to work hard	Rantau 1	Rantau 1	.14	8.62E-02	.256	-6.98E-02	.36
		Darek	-5.48E-03	9.14E-02	.998	-.23	.22
	Darek	Rantau 1	-.20	9.63E-02	.118	-.44	3.73E-02
		Rantau 2	-.10	8.97E-02	.528	-.32	.12
Being good at hiding a feeling	Rantau 1	Rantau 1	.20	9.63E-02	.118	-3.73E-02	.44
		Rantau 2	9.89E-02	9.51E-02	.584	-.14	.33
	Darek	Rantau 1	.10	8.97E-02	.528	-.12	.32
		Darek	-9.89E-02	9.51E-02	.584	-.33	.14
Being friendly	Rantau 1	Darek	-.25	.12	.130	-.56	5.42E-02
		Rantau 2	-.22	.12	.170	-.51	6.68E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.25	.12	.130	-5.42E-02	.56
		Rantau 2	3.36E-02	.12	.963	-.27	.34
Knowing how to manage the household	Rantau 1	Rantau 1	.22	.12	.170	-6.68E-02	.51
		Darek	-3.36E-02	.12	.963	-.34	.27
	Darek	Rantau 1	-.12	.11	.573	-.40	.16
		Rantau 2	-.14	.11	.421	-.40	.12
Good at cooking and sewing	Rantau 1	Rantau 1	.12	.11	.573	-.16	.40
		Rantau 2	-1.96E-02	.11	.985	-.30	.26
	Darek	Rantau 1	.14	.11	.421	-.12	.40
		Darek	1.96E-02	.11	.985	-.26	.30
Being good at keeping a secret	Rantau 1	Darek	-.43*	.12	.001	-.72	-.15
		Rantau 2	-.31*	.11	.016	-.58	-4.68E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.43*	.12	.001	.15	.72
		Rantau 2	.12	.11	.590	-.17	.40
Knowing how to manage the household	Rantau 1	Rantau 1	.31*	.11	.016	4.66E-02	.58
		Darek	-.12	.11	.590	-.40	.17
	Darek	Rantau 1	-.41*	.13	.007	-.72	-9.49E-02
		Rantau 2	-.31*	.12	.032	-.61	-2.13E-02
Being good at hiding a feeling	Rantau 1	Rantau 1	.41*	.13	.007	9.49E-02	.72
		Rantau 2	9.52E-02	.13	.752	-.22	.41
	Darek	Rantau 1	.31*	.12	.032	2.13E-02	.61
		Darek	-9.52E-02	.13	.752	-.41	.22
Being friendly	Rantau 1	Darek	-.24	.13	.201	-.57	8.91E-02
		Rantau 2	-.25	.12	.145	-.55	6.10E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.24	.13	.201	-8.91E-02	.57
		Rantau 2	-5.48E-03	.13	.999	-.33	.32
Knowing how to manage the household	Rantau 1	Rantau 1	.25	.12	.145	-6.10E-02	.55
		Darek	5.48E-03	.13	.999	-.32	.33
	Darek	Rantau 1	-.99*	.11	.000	-1.26	-.72
		Rantau 2	-.83*	.10	.000	-1.08	-.58
Good at cooking and sewing	Rantau 1	Rantau 1	.99*	.11	.000	.72	1.26
		Rantau 2	.16	.11	.342	-.11	.42
	Darek	Rantau 1	.83*	.10	.000	.58	1.08
		Darek	-.16	.11	.342	-.42	.11
Being good at keeping a secret	Rantau 1	Darek	-1.02*	.14	.000	-1.38	-.67
		Rantau 2	-.75*	.13	.000	-1.08	-.42
	Darek	Rantau 1	1.02*	.14	.000	.67	1.38
		Rantau 2	.27	.14	.161	-7.73E-02	.62
Being good at keeping a secret	Rantau 1	Rantau 1	.75*	.13	.000	.42	1.08
		Darek	-.27	.14	.161	-.62	7.73E-02

\*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Responsible for the generation continuity	Between Groups	6.904	2	3.452	8.354	.000
	Within Groups	78.096	189	.413		
	Total	85.000	191			
Having motherly characteristic	Between Groups	10.481	2	5.241	11.685	.000
	Within Groups	84.769	189	.449		
	Total	95.250	191			
Being a central pillar of the house	Between Groups	64.907	2	32.453	38.635	.000
	Within Groups	158.760	189	.840		
	Total	223.667	191			

# APPENDIX III: RESULT OF THE ANALYSIS OF THE DATA ON THE RESEARCH QUESTION 3

Oneway  
Test 1

Descriptives									
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Pride in being Indonesian	Rantau 1	67	4.09	.92	.11	3.87	4.31	1	5
	Darek	54	4.61	.66	8.93E-02	4.43	4.79	2	5
	Rantau 2	71	4.65	.74	8.77E-02	4.47	4.82	2	5
	Total	192	4.44	.82	5.94E-02	4.33	4.56	1	5
Support for Indonesian products	Rantau 1	67	4.10	.97	.12	3.87	4.34	1	5
	Darek	54	4.54	.77	.10	4.33	4.75	2	5
	Rantau 2	71	4.77	.61	7.29E-02	4.63	4.92	2	5
	Total	192	4.47	.84	6.09E-02	4.35	4.59	1	5
Pride in the achievement of Indonesian people	Rantau 1	67	3.96	.99	.12	3.71	4.20	1	5
	Darek	54	4.50	.82	.11	4.28	4.72	2	5
	Rantau 2	71	4.45	1.01	.12	4.21	4.69	1	5
	Total	192	4.29	.98	7.08E-02	4.15	4.43	1	5
Love for he motherland	Rantau 1	67	3.91	.95	.12	3.68	4.14	1	5
	Darek	54	4.67	.61	8.36E-02	4.50	4.83	3	5
	Rantau 2	71	4.77	.57	6.71E-02	4.64	4.91	3	5
	Total	192	4.44	.83	5.99E-02	4.32	4.56	1	5
Sense of responsibility for contributing to prosperity of Indonesian people	Rantau 1	66	3.56	1.02	.13	3.31	3.81	1	5
	Darek	54	4.15	.88	.12	3.91	4.39	2	5
	Rantau 2	71	4.08	1.19	.14	3.80	4.37	2	5
	Total	191	3.92	1.08	7.82E-02	3.77	4.08	1	5
Attach to Indonesian people	Rantau 1	67	3.45	.74	9.09E-02	3.27	3.63	2	5
	Darek	54	4.02	.84	.11	3.79	4.25	2	5
	Rantau 2	71	3.92	1.13	.13	3.65	4.18	2	5
	Total	192	3.78	.96	6.90E-02	3.65	3.92	2	5
Solidarity with other ethnic groups in Indonesia	Rantau 1	67	3.30	1.00	.12	3.05	3.54	1	5
	Darek	54	3.93	.91	.12	3.68	4.17	1	5
	Rantau 2	71	4.10	1.20	.14	3.82	4.38	1	5
	Total	192	3.77	1.11	7.99E-02	3.61	3.93	1	5

## ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Pride in being Indonesian	Between Groups	12.877	2	6.438	10.446	.000
	Within Groups	116.493	189	.616		
	Total	129.370	191			
Support for Indonesian products	Between Groups	15.781	2	7.890	12.418	.000
	Within Groups	120.089	189	.635		
	Total	135.870	191			
Pride in the achievement of Indonesian people	Between Groups	11.724	2	5.862	6.443	.002
	Within Groups	171.943	189	.910		
	Total	183.667	191			
Love for the motherland	Between Groups	29.513	2	14.756	27.381	.000
	Within Groups	101.857	189	.539		
	Total	131.370	191			
Sense of responsibility for contributing to prosperity of Indonesian people	Between Groups	13.257	2	6.628	5.975	.003
	Within Groups	208.565	188	1.109		
	Total	221.822	190			
Attach to Indonesian people	Between Groups	11.771	2	5.885	6.822	.001
	Within Groups	163.042	189	.863		
	Total	174.813	191			
Solidarity with other ethnic groups in Indonesia	Between Groups	23.873	2	11.937	10.741	.000
	Within Groups	210.043	189	1.111		
	Total	233.917	191			

Post Hoc Tests

Multiple Comparisons

Scheffe

Dependent Variable	(I) Name of the school	(J) Name of the school	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Pride in being Indonesian	Rantau 1	Darek	-.52*	.14	.002	-.88	-.17
		Rantau 2	-.56*	.13	.000	-.89	-.23
	Darek	Rantau 1	.52*	.14	.002	.17	.88
		Rantau 2	-3.68E-02	.14	.967	-.39	.31
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.56*	.13	.000	.23	.89
		Darek	3.68E-02	.14	.967	-.31	.39
Support for Indonesian products	Rantau 1	Darek	-.43*	.15	.014	-.79	-7.29E-02
		Rantau 2	-.67*	.14	.000	-1.01	-.34
	Darek	Rantau 1	.43*	.15	.014	7.29E-02	.79
		Rantau 2	-.24	.14	.258	-.59	.12
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.67*	.14	.000	.34	1.01
		Darek	.24	.14	.258	-.12	.59
Pride in the achievement of Indonesian people	Rantau 1	Darek	-.54*	.17	.009	-.98	-.11
		Rantau 2	-.50*	.16	.011	-.90	-9.47E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.54*	.17	.009	.11	.98
		Rantau 2	4.93E-02	.17	.960	-.38	.47
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.50*	.16	.011	9.47E-02	.90
		Darek	-4.93E-02	.17	.960	-.47	.38
Love for the motherland	Rantau 1	Darek	-.76*	.13	.000	-1.09	-.42
		Rantau 2	-.86*	.13	.000	-1.17	-.56
	Darek	Rantau 1	.76*	.13	.000	.42	1.09
		Rantau 2	-.11	.13	.718	-.44	.22
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.86*	.13	.000	.56	1.17
		Darek	.11	.13	.718	-.22	.44
Sense of responsibility for contributing to prosperity of Indonesian people	Rantau 1	Darek	-.59*	.19	.011	-1.06	-.11
		Rantau 2	-.52*	.18	.016	-.97	-7.95E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.59*	.19	.011	.11	1.06
		Rantau 2	6.36E-02	.19	.946	-.41	.53
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.52*	.18	.016	7.95E-02	.97
		Darek	-6.36E-02	.19	.946	-.53	.41
Attach to Indonesian people	Rantau 1	Darek	-.57*	.17	.004	-.99	-.15
		Rantau 2	-.47*	.16	.014	-.86	-7.74E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.57*	.17	.004	.15	.99
		Rantau 2	.10	.17	.828	-.31	.52
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.47*	.16	.014	7.74E-02	.86
		Darek	-.10	.17	.828	-.52	.31
Solidarity with other ethnic groups in Indonesia	Rantau 1	Darek	-.63*	.19	.006	-1.10	-.15
		Rantau 2	-.80*	.18	.000	-1.24	-.36
	Darek	Rantau 1	.63*	.19	.006	.15	1.10
		Rantau 2	-.17	.19	.663	-.64	.30
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.80*	.18	.000	.36	1.24
		Darek	.17	.19	.663	-.30	.64

\*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.



Oneway  
Test 2

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Living in a unite country	Rantau 1	67	3.64	.51	6.27E-02	3.52	3.77	2	4
	Darek	54	3.80	.41	5.53E-02	3.69	3.91	3	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.77	.42	4.99E-02	3.68	3.87	3	4
	Total	192	3.73	.45	3.28E-02	3.67	3.80	2	4
Living in a caring community	Rantau 1	67	3.58	.50	6.07E-02	3.46	3.70	3	4
	Darek	54	3.87	.34	4.61E-02	3.78	3.96	3	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.80	.40	4.76E-02	3.71	3.90	3	4
	Total	192	3.74	.44	3.15E-02	3.68	3.81	3	4
Living in a community based on mutual respect	Rantau 1	67	3.60	.49	6.04E-02	3.48	3.72	3	4
	Darek	54	3.72	.45	6.15E-02	3.60	3.85	3	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.72	.45	5.38E-02	3.61	3.83	3	4
	Total	192	3.68	.47	3.38E-02	3.61	3.74	3	4
Living in a community which prioritise general above individual interests	Rantau 1	67	3.34	.62	7.53E-02	3.19	3.49	1	4
	Darek	54	3.74	.44	6.02E-02	3.62	3.86	3	4
	Rantau 2	71	3.80	.55	6.54E-02	3.67	3.93	1	4
	Total	192	3.63	.58	4.21E-02	3.54	3.71	1	4

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Living in a unite country	Between Groups	.897	2	.448	2.197	.114
	Within Groups	38.557	189	.204		
	Total	39.453	191			
Living in a caring community	Between Groups	2.864	2	1.432	8.048	.000
	Within Groups	33.631	189	.178		
	Total	36.495	191			
Living in a community based on mutual respect	Between Groups	.660	2	.330	1.510	.224
	Within Groups	41.319	189	.219		
	Total	41.979	191			
Living in a community which prioritise general above individual interests	Between Groups	8.286	2	4.143	13.806	.000
	Within Groups	56.714	189	.300		
	Total	65.000	191			

Post Hoc Tests

Multiple Comparisons

Scheffe							
Dependent Variable	(I) Name of the school	(J) Name of the school	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Living in a unite country	Rantau 1	Darek	-.15	8.26E-02	.177	-.36	4.93E-02
		Rantau 2	-.13	7.69E-02	.228	-.32	5.69E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.15	8.26E-02	.177	-4.93E-02	.36
		Rantau 2	2.16E-02	8.16E-02	.965	-.18	.22
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.13	7.69E-02	.228	-5.69E-02	.32
		Darek	-2.16E-02	8.16E-02	.965	-.22	.18
Living in a caring community	Rantau 1	Darek	-.29*	7.71E-02	.001	-.48	-9.79E-02
		Rantau 2	-.22*	7.18E-02	.010	-.40	-4.35E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.29*	7.71E-02	.001	9.79E-02	.48
		Rantau 2	6.76E-02	7.62E-02	.675	-.12	.26
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.22*	7.18E-02	.010	4.35E-02	.40
		Darek	-6.76E-02	7.62E-02	.675	-.26	.12
Living in a community based on mutual respect	Rantau 1	Darek	-.13	8.55E-02	.344	-.34	8.58E-02
		Rantau 2	-.12	7.96E-02	.316	-.32	7.52E-02
	Darek	Rantau 1	.13	8.55E-02	.344	-8.58E-02	.34
		Rantau 2	3.91E-03	8.44E-02	.999	-.20	.21
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.12	7.96E-02	.316	-7.52E-02	.32
		Darek	-3.91E-03	8.44E-02	.999	-.21	.20
Living in a community which prioritise general above individual interests	Rantau 1	Darek	-.40*	.10	.001	-.64	-.15
		Rantau 2	-.46*	9.33E-02	.000	-.69	-.23
	Darek	Rantau 1	.40*	.10	.001	.15	.64
		Rantau 2	-6.21E-02	9.89E-02	.821	-.31	.18
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	.46*	9.33E-02	.000	.23	.69
		Darek	6.21E-02	9.89E-02	.821	-.18	.31

\*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Crosstabs  
Participating in organisations  
Test 3

Crosstab

Count		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Rantau 2	
Participating in organisations	no	30	7	37
	yes	37	64	101
Total		67	71	138

#### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21.417 <sup>a</sup>	1	.000		
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	19.675	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	22.590	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	21.262	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	138				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 17.96.

#### Test 4

##### Crosstab

Count

		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Darek	
Participating in no		30	7	37
organisations yes		37	47	84
Total		67	54	121

#### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14.256 <sup>a</sup>	1	.000		
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	12.796	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	15.193	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	14.138	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	121				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 16.51.

#### Test 5

##### Crosstab

Count

		School		Total
		Darek	Rantau 2	
Participating in no		7	7	14
organisations yes		47	64	111
Total		54	71	125

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.297 <sup>a</sup>	1	.586		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	.067	1	.796		
Likelihood Ratio	.295	1	.587		
Fisher's Exact Test				.776	.395
Linear-by-Linear Association	.295	1	.587		
N of Valid Cases	125				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 6.05.

## Test 6

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	14.161 <sup>a</sup>	1	.000		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	12.878	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	14.424	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	14.058	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	138				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 26.22.

## Participating in politics

### Test 7

Crosstab

Count

		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Darek	
Participating in politics	no	37	12	49
	yes	30	42	72
Total		67	54	121

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.514 <sup>a</sup>	1	.000		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	12.180	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	13.986	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	13.403	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	121				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 21.87.

Test 8

Crosstab

Count		School		Total
		Darek	Rantau 2	
Participating in politics	no	12	17	29
	yes	42	54	96
Total		54	71	125

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.051 <sup>a</sup>	1	.821	1.000	.497
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	.000	1	.990		
Likelihood Ratio	.051	1	.821		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	.051	1	.822		
N of Valid Cases	125				

- a. Computed only for a 2x2 table
- b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12.53.

Going to war to defend the country if it is needed \* School  
Test 9

Crosstab

Count		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Rantau 2	
Going to war to defend the country if it is needed	no	37	11	48
	yes	30	60	90
Total		67	71	138

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	23.988 <sup>a</sup>	1	.000	.000	.000
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	22.268	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	24.946	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	23.814	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	138				

- a. Computed only for a 2x2 table
- b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 23.30.

Test 10

Crosstab

Count		School		Total
		Rantau 1	Darek	
Going to war to defend the country if it is needed	no	37	12	49
	yes	30	42	72
Total		67	54	121

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	13.514 <sup>a</sup>	1	.000		
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	12.180	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	13.986	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.000	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	13.403	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	121				

- a. Computed only for a 2x2 table
- b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 21.87.

Test 11

Crosstab

Count		School		Total
		Darek	Rantau 2	
Going to war to defend the country if it is needed	no	12	11	23
	yes	42	60	102
Total		54	71	125

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.925 <sup>a</sup>	1	.336		
Continuity Correction <sup>b</sup>	.531	1	.466		
Likelihood Ratio	.917	1	.338		
Fisher's Exact Test				.360	.232
Linear-by-Linear Association	.918	1	.338		
N of Valid Cases	125				

- a. Computed only for a 2x2 table
- b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 9.94.

Oneway  
Test 12

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Having an equal status with man	Rantau 1	67	3.46	.56	6.83E-02	3.33	3.60	2	4
	Darek	54	2.35	.52	7.07E-02	2.21	2.49	1	3
	Rantau 2	71	2.49	.50	5.98E-02	2.37	2.61	2	3
	Total	192	2.79	.72	5.21E-02	2.69	2.89	1	4
Not getting married early	Rantau 1	67	3.13	.74	9.00E-02	2.95	3.31	1	4
	Darek	54	1.80	1.05	.14	1.51	2.08	1	4
	Rantau 2	71	2.04	1.18	.14	1.76	2.32	1	4
	Total	192	2.35	1.16	8.35E-02	2.19	2.52	1	4
Having a boyfriend	Rantau 1	67	2.78	.83	.10	2.57	2.98	1	4
	Darek	54	2.24	.95	.13	1.98	2.50	1	4
	Rantau 2	71	2.38	.83	9.90E-02	2.18	2.58	1	4
	Total	192	2.48	.89	6.44E-02	2.35	2.61	1	4
Following music trend	Rantau 1	67	2.61	.90	.11	2.39	2.83	1	4
	Darek	54	1.74	.96	.13	1.48	2.00	1	4
	Rantau 2	71	1.73	.81	9.61E-02	1.54	1.92	1	3
	Total	192	2.04	.98	7.04E-02	1.90	2.18	1	4
Looking attractive	Rantau 1	67	2.61	.92	.11	2.39	2.84	1	4
	Darek	54	1.76	.93	.13	1.51	2.01	1	4
	Rantau 2	71	1.90	1.00	.12	1.66	2.14	1	4
	Total	192	2.11	1.02	7.36E-02	1.96	2.25	1	4
Wearing 'trendy' clothing	Rantau 1	67	2.60	.72	8.78E-02	2.42	2.77	1	4
	Darek	54	1.54	.84	.11	1.31	1.77	1	4
	Rantau 2	71	1.66	.91	.11	1.45	1.88	1	4
	Total	192	1.95	.95	6.86E-02	1.82	2.09	1	4
Not caring what other people think	Rantau 1	67	2.43	.68	8.30E-02	2.27	2.60	1	3
	Darek	54	1.52	.84	.11	1.29	1.75	1	3
	Rantau 2	71	1.54	.89	.11	1.32	1.75	1	4
	Total	192	1.84	.91	6.59E-02	1.71	1.97	1	4

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Having an equal status with man	Between Groups	46.949	2	23.474	84.158	.000
	Within Groups	52.718	189	.279		
	Total	99.667	191			
Not getting married early	Between Groups	64.493	2	32.247	31.838	.000
	Within Groups	191.424	189	1.013		
	Total	255.917	191			
Having a boyfriend	Between Groups	9.672	2	4.836	6.426	.002
	Within Groups	142.245	189	.753		
	Total	151.917	191			
Following music trend	Between Groups	33.470	2	16.735	21.343	.000
	Within Groups	148.196	189	.784		
	Total	181.667	191			
Looking attractive	Between Groups	26.612	2	13.306	14.614	.000
	Within Groups	172.091	189	.911		
	Total	198.703	191			
Wearing 'trendy' clothing	Between Groups	43.145	2	21.573	31.501	.000
	Within Groups	129.433	189	.685		
	Total	172.578	191			
Not caring what other people think	Between Groups	35.721	2	17.861	27.313	.000
	Within Groups	123.591	189	.654		
	Total	159.313	191			

## Post Hoc Tests

### Multiple Comparisons

Scheffe

Dependent Variable	(I) Name of the school	(J) Name of the school	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Having an equal status with man	Rantau 1	Darek	1.11*	9.66E-02	.000	.87	1.35
		Rantau 2	.97*	9.00E-02	.000	.75	1.19
	Darek	Rantau 1	-1.11*	9.66E-02	.000	-1.35	-.87
		Rantau 2	-.14	9.54E-02	.337	-.38	9.42E-02
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	-.97*	9.00E-02	.000	-1.19	-.75
		Darek	.14	9.54E-02	.337	-9.42E-02	.38
Not getting married early	Rantau 1	Darek	1.34*	.18	.000	.88	1.79
		Rantau 2	1.09*	.17	.000	.67	1.51
	Darek	Rantau 1	-1.34*	.18	.000	-1.79	-.88
		Rantau 2	-.25	.18	.402	-.69	.20
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	-1.09*	.17	.000	-1.51	-.67
		Darek	.25	.18	.402	-.20	.69
Having a boyfriend	Rantau 1	Darek	.54*	.16	.004	.14	.93
		Rantau 2	.40*	.15	.030	3.13E-02	.76
	Darek	Rantau 1	-.54*	.16	.004	-.93	-.14
		Rantau 2	-.14	.16	.673	-.53	.25
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	-.40*	.15	.030	-.76	-3.13E-02
		Darek	.14	.16	.673	-.25	.53
Following music trend	Rantau 1	Darek	.87*	.16	.000	.47	1.27
		Rantau 2	.88*	.15	.000	.51	1.25
	Darek	Rantau 1	-.87*	.16	.000	-1.27	-.47
		Rantau 2	8.35E-03	.16	.999	-.39	.40
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	-.88*	.15	.000	-1.25	-.51
		Darek	-8.35E-03	.16	.999	-.40	.39
Looking attractive	Rantau 1	Darek	.85*	.17	.000	.42	1.28
		Rantau 2	.71*	.16	.000	.31	1.11
	Darek	Rantau 1	-.85*	.17	.000	-1.28	-.42
		Rantau 2	-.14	.17	.712	-.57	.28
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	-.71*	.16	.000	-1.11	-.31
		Darek	.14	.17	.712	-.28	.57
Wearing 'trendy' clothing	Rantau 1	Darek	1.06*	.15	.000	.69	1.43
		Rantau 2	.94*	.14	.000	.59	1.28
	Darek	Rantau 1	-1.06*	.15	.000	-1.43	-.69
		Rantau 2	-.12	.15	.705	-.49	.24
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	-.94*	.14	.000	-1.28	-.59
		Darek	.12	.15	.705	-.24	.49
Not caring what other people think	Rantau 1	Darek	.91*	.15	.000	.55	1.28
		Rantau 2	.90*	.14	.000	.56	1.24
	Darek	Rantau 1	-.91*	.15	.000	-1.28	-.55
		Rantau 2	-1.67E-02	.15	.993	-.38	.34
	Rantau 2	Rantau 1	-.90*	.14	.000	-1.24	-.56
		Darek	1.67E-02	.15	.993	-.34	.38

\*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.



**Test 13**  
**Regression**

**Variables Entered/Removed<sup>a</sup>**

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	MoPu, MoSE, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, <sup>a</sup> FUNIV		Enter

- a. All requested variables entered.  
b. Dependent Variable: Marriage

**Model Summary**

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.170 <sup>a</sup>	.029	.002	1.0037765

- a. Predictors: (Constant), MoPu, MoSE, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

**ANOVA<sup>b</sup>**

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	5.365	5	1.073	1.065	.381 <sup>a</sup>
	Residual	180.355	179	1.008		
	Total	185.719	184			

- a. Predictors: (Constant), MoPu, MoSE, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV  
b. Dependent Variable: Marriage

**Coefficients<sup>a</sup>**

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-1.86E-02	.182		-.102	.919
	FUNIV	-7.70E-02	.263	-.032	-.293	.770
	MUNIV	-4.27E-02	.267	-.017	-.160	.873
	Father Self-employed	.158	.203	.077	.779	.437
	MoSE	-6.54E-02	.220	-.023	-.297	.767
	MoPu	-.209	.249	-.085	-.841	.407

- a. Dependent Variable: Marriage

Test 14  
Regression

Variables Entered/Removed<sup>a</sup>

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	MoPu, MoSE, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV <sup>a</sup>		Enter

- a. All requested variables entered.  
b. Dependent Variable: Roles of mother/daughter according to matrilineal system

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.576 <sup>a</sup>	.332	.313	.8364762

- a. Predictors: (Constant), MoPu, MoSE, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

ANOVA<sup>a</sup>

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	62.118	5	12.424	17.756	.000 <sup>a</sup>
	Residual	125.245	179	.700		
	Total	187.363	184			

- a. Predictors: (Constant), MoPu, MoSE, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV  
b. Dependent Variable: Roles of mother/daughter according to matrilineal system

Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-.402	.152		-2.643	.009
	FUNIV	.102	.219	.042	.466	.642
	MUNIV	-.573	.223	-.223	-2.571	.011
	Father Self-employed	.788	.169	.380	4.655	.000
	MoSE	.179	.183	.063	.978	.329
	MoPu	-.224	.207	-.091	-1.079	.282

- a. Dependent Variable: Roles of mother/daughter according to matrilineal system

Test 15  
Regression

Variables Entered/Removed<sup>a</sup>

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-employed, Father Self-employed, MUNIV <sup>a</sup> , FUNIV		Enter

- a. All requested variables entered.  
b. Dependent Variable: Role of father and mamak

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.187 <sup>a</sup>	.035	.008	1.0085681

- a. Predictors: (Constant), Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-employed, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

ANOVA<sup>a</sup>

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	6.592	5	1.318	1.296	.268 <sup>a</sup>
	Residual	182.081	179	1.017		
	Total	188.672	184			

- a. Predictors: (Constant), Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-employed, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV  
b. Dependent Variable: Role of father and mamak

Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-.252	.183		-1.374	.172
	FUNIV	8.042E-02	.264	.033	.305	.761
	MUNIV	2.186E-02	.269	.008	.081	.935
	Father Self-employed	.314	.204	.151	1.539	.126
	Mother self-employed	.285	.221	.099	1.287	.200
	Mother employer, public and private employee	-1.69E-02	.250	-.007	-.068	.946

a. Dependent Variable: Role of father and mamak

Test 16  
Regression

Variables Entered/Removed<sup>a</sup>

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	MoPu, MoSE, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV <sup>a</sup>		Enter

a. All requested variables entered.

b. Dependent Variable: Feelings of closeness to etek, mamak and bako

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.351 <sup>a</sup>	.123	.099	.9330687

a. Predictors: (Constant), MoPu, MoSE, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

# ANOVA<sup>a</sup>

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	21.865	5	4.373	5.023	.000 <sup>a</sup>
Residual	155.840	179	.871		
Total	177.706	184			

a. Predictors: (Constant), MoPu, MoSE, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

b. Dependent Variable: Feelings of closeness to etek, mamak and bako

# Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-.108	.170		-.639	.524
	FUNIV	-.651	.244	-.273	-2.663	.008
	MUNIV	7.999E-02	.249	.032	.322	.748
	Father Self-employed	.399	.189	.198	2.115	.036
	MoSE	-.302	.205	-.109	-1.478	.141
	MoPu	.210	.231	.087	.908	.365

a. Dependent Variable: Feelings of closeness to etek, mamak and bako

# Test 17

# Regression

# Variables Entered/Removed<sup>a</sup>

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-employed, Father Self-employed, MUNIV <sup>a</sup> , FUNIV		Enter

a. All requested variables entered.

b. Dependent Variable: Feelings of closeness to mother and father

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.193 <sup>a</sup>	.037	.010	.9947115

a. Predictors: (Constant), Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-employed, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

ANOVA<sup>a</sup>

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	6.840	5	1.368	1.383	.233 <sup>a</sup>
	Residual	177.112	179	.989		
	Total	183.952	184			

a. Predictors: (Constant), Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-employed, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

b. Dependent Variable: Feelings of closeness to mother and father

Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.239	.181		1.320	.189
	FUNIV	-.469	.260	-.193	-1.799	.074
	MUNIV	2.458E-02	.265	.010	.093	.926
	Father Self-employed	-.274	.201	-.133	-1.363	.175
	Mother self-employed	-.181	.218	-.064	-.831	.407
	Mother employer, public and private employee	.319	.247	.131	1.296	.197

a. Dependent Variable: Feelings of closeness to mother and father

Test 18  
Regression

Variables Entered/Removed <sup>b</sup>

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	MoPu, MoSE, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV <sup>a</sup>		Enter

a. All requested variables entered.

b. Dependent Variable: Socio proprieties

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.653 <sup>a</sup>	.426	.410	.7721363

a. Predictors: (Constant), MoPu, MoSE, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

ANOVA<sup>b</sup>

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	79.176	5	15.835	26.560	.000 <sup>a</sup>
	Residual	106.719	179	.596		
	Total	185.894	184			

a. Predictors: (Constant), MoPu, MoSE, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

b. Dependent Variable: Socio proprieties

Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	7.666E-02	.140		.546	.586
	FUNIV	-.815	.202	-.335	-4.029	.000
	MUNIV	-.496	.206	-.194	-2.414	.017
	Father Self-employed	.319	.156	.154	2.041	.043
	MoSE	7.933E-02	.169	.028	.469	.640
	MoPu	-.201	.191	-.082	-1.052	.294

a. Dependent Variable: Socio proprieties

Test 19  
Regression

Variables Entered/Removed<sup>b</sup>

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-employed, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV <sup>a</sup>		Enter

a. All requested variables entered.

b. Dependent Variable: Priserving and being attached to trsditional Minang culture

### Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.426 <sup>a</sup>	.182	.159	.9227335

a. Predictors: (Constant), Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-employed, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

### ANOVA<sup>a</sup>

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	33.808	5	6.762	7.941	.000 <sup>a</sup>
	Residual	152.407	179	.851		
	Total	186.216	184			

a. Predictors: (Constant), Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-employed, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

b. Dependent Variable: Priserving and being attached to trsditional Minang culture

### Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	2.467E-02	.168		.147	.883
	FUNIV	-.558	.242	-.229	-2.310	.022
	MUNIV	-.185	.246	-.072	-.752	.453
	Father Self-employed	.260	.187	.126	1.394	.165
	Mother self-employed	5.626E-02	.202	.020	.278	.781
	Mother employer, public and private employee	-.174	.229	-.071	-.760	.448

a. Dependent Variable: Priserving and being attached to trsditional Minang culture



Test 20  
Regression

Variables Entered/Removed <sup>b</sup>

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-emplo yed, Father Self-emplo yed, MUNIV <sup>a</sup> , FUNIV <sup>a</sup>		Enter

- a. All requested variables entered.  
b. Dependent Variable: Support for practice of traditional Minangkabau culture

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.691 <sup>a</sup>	.477	.462	.7409392

- a. Predictors: (Constant), Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-employed, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

ANOVA<sup>b</sup>

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	89.622	5	17.924	32.650	.000 <sup>a</sup>
	Residual	98.269	179	.549		
	Total	187.891	184			

- a. Predictors: (Constant), Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-employed, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV  
b. Dependent Variable: Support for practice of traditional Minangkabau culture

Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-.140	.135		-1.043	.298
	FUNIV	-.437	.194	-.178	-2.251	.026
	MUNIV	-.252	.197	-.098	-1.275	.204
	Father Self-employed	.610	.150	.293	4.067	.000
	Mother self-employed	.114	.162	.040	.702	.484
	Mother employer, public and private employee	-.622	.184	-.252	-3.390	.001

a. Dependent Variable: Support for practice of traditional Minangkabau culture

## Test 21 Regression

Variables Entered/Removed<sup>a</sup>

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-employed, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV		Enter

a. All requested variables entered.

b. Dependent Variable: Attachment to Minang community

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.290 <sup>a</sup>	.084	.059	.9744157

a. Predictors: (Constant), Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-employed, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

ANOVA<sup>b</sup>

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	15.620	5	3.124	3.290	.007 <sup>a</sup>
	Residual	169.958	179	.949		
	Total	185.578	184			

a. Predictors: (Constant), Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-employed, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

b. Dependent Variable: Attachment to Minang community

Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-.138	.177		-.781	.436
	FUNIV	-.106	.255	-.044	-.415	.678
	MUNIV	-.110	.260	-.043	-.423	.673
	Father Self-employed	.405	.197	.196	2.053	.041
	Mother self-employed	-.271	.214	-.095	-1.267	.207
	Mother employer, public and private employee	-.188	.241	-.077	-.780	.436

a. Dependent Variable: Attachment to Minang community

## Test 22 Regression

Variables Entered/Removed<sup>b</sup>

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	Father Self-employed, MUNIV <sup>a</sup> , FUNIV		Enter

a. All requested variables entered.

b. Dependent Variable: Attitudes towards roles and responsibility of Minang women

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.488 <sup>a</sup>	.238	.226	.8891101

a. Predictors: (Constant), Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

# ANOVA<sup>a</sup>

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	45.014	3	15.005	18.981	.000 <sup>a</sup>
	Residual	143.874	182	.791		
	Total	188.888	185			

a. Predictors: (Constant), Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

b. Dependent Variable: Attitudes towards roles and responsibility of Minang women

# Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-.128	.154		-.828	.409
	FUNIV	-.456	.228	-.186	-2.001	.047
	MUNIV	-.425	.215	-.165	-1.980	.049
	Father Self-employed	.472	.172	.227	2.747	.007

a. Dependent Variable: Attitudes towards roles and responsibility of Minang women

# Test 23

# Regression

# Variables Entered/Removed<sup>b</sup>

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-employed, Father Self-employed, MUNIV <sup>a</sup> , FUNIV		Enter

a. All requested variables entered.

b. Dependent Variable: Less gender specific morality characteristics

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.168 <sup>a</sup>	.028	.001	1.0041001

a. Predictors: (Constant), Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-employed, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

ANOVA<sup>a</sup>

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	5.235	5	1.047	1.038	.397 <sup>a</sup>
	Residual	180.471	179	1.008		
	Total	185.706	184			

a. Predictors: (Constant), Mother employer, public and private employee, Mother self-employed, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV  
b. Dependent Variable: Less gender specific morality characteristics

Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.114	.182		.625	.533
	FUNIV	-.425	.263	-.175	-1.618	.107
	MUNIV	4.935E-02	.267	.019	.185	.854
	Father Self-employed	-5.94E-02	.203	-.029	-.292	.770
	Mother self-employed	2.362E-02	.220	.008	.107	.915
	Mother employer, public and private employee	-7.88E-02	.249	-.032	-.317	.752

a. Dependent Variable: Less gender specific morality characteristics

Test 24  
Regression

Variables Entered/Removed<sup>a</sup>

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	MoPu, MoSE, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV		Enter

a. All requested variables entered.  
b. Dependent Variable: Socially presentable characteristics

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.393 <sup>a</sup>	.155	.131	1.6634

a. Predictors: (Constant), MoPu, MoSE, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

ANOVA<sup>b</sup>

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	90.525	5	18.105	6.543	.000 <sup>a</sup>
	Residual	495.291	179	2.767		
	Total	585.816	184			

a. Predictors: (Constant), MoPu, MoSE, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

b. Dependent Variable: Socially presentable characteristics

Test 25  
Regression

Variables Entered/Removed<sup>a</sup>

Model	Variables Entered	Variables Removed	Method
1	MSESECN, FJSEC, MoPu, MoSE, FSENSEC, MJSEC, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV <sup>a</sup>		Enter

a. All requested variables entered.

b. Dependent Variable: More gender characteristics

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.542 <sup>a</sup>	.294	.257	1.6024

a. Predictors: (Constant), MSESECN, FJSEC, MoPu, MoSE, FSENSEC, MJSEC, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

ANOVA<sup>b</sup>

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	186.753	9	20.750	8.082	.000 <sup>a</sup>
	Residual	449.333	175	2.568		
	Total	636.086	184			

a. Predictors: (Constant), MSESECN, FJSEC, MoPu, MoSE, FSENSEC, MJSEC, Father Self-employed, MUNIV, FUNIV

b. Dependent Variable: More gender characteristics

Coefficients<sup>a</sup>

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	10.479	.405		25.893	.000
	FUNIV	-.666	.574	-.148	-1.159	.248
	MUNIV	-1.362	.541	-.288	-2.516	.013
	Father Self-employed	.182	.369	.048	.494	.622
	MoSE	.256	.359	.049	.713	.477
	MoPu	-.334	.406	-.073	-.823	.412
	FJSEC	7.568E-02	.367	.015	.206	.837
	FSENSEC	-.358	.425	-.080	-.841	.401
	MJSEC	.135	.362	.028	.372	.711
	MSESECN	-.906	.412	-.197	-2.200	.029

a. Dependent Variable: More gender characteristics

Crosstabs  
Test 26

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Roles of mamak in the sister's family * Father Uni and Primary	115	59.9%	77	40.1%	192	100.0%

**Roles of mamak in the sister's family \* Father Uni and Primary Crosstabulation**

Count

		Father Uni and Primary		Total
		Father primary	Father University	
Roles of mamak in the sister's family	not important	39	36	75
	important	36	4	40
Total		75	40	115

**Chi-Square Tests**

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16.606 <sup>a</sup>	1	.000	.000	.000
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	14.973	1	.000		
Likelihood Ratio	18.742	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test					
Linear-by-Linear Association	16.462	1	.000		
N of Valid Cases	115				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 13.91.

**Crosstabs**

Test 27

**Case Processing Summary**

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Roles of mamak in the sister's family * Mother Uni and Primary	118	61.5%	74	38.5%	192	100.0%

**Roles of mamak in the sister's family \* Mother Uni and Primary Crosstabulation**

Count

		Mother Uni and Primary		Total
		Mother primary	Mother university	
Roles of mamak in the sister's family	not important	48	31	79
	important	35	4	39
Total		83	35	118



### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.513 <sup>a</sup>	1	.001		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	9.170	1	.002		
Likelihood Ratio	11.856	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.001	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	10.424	1	.001		
N of Valid Cases	118				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 11.57.

### Crosstabs

Test 28

### Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Roles of mamak in the sister's family * Father white color and self-employed	186	96.9%	6	3.1%	192	100.0%

### Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	9.920 <sup>a</sup>	1	.002		
Continuity Correction <sup>a</sup>	8.806	1	.003		
Likelihood Ratio	10.850	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.002	.001
Linear-by-Linear Association	9.867	1	.002		
N of Valid Cases	186				

a. Computed only for a 2x2 table

b. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 15.65.